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APRIL 1955

MAR 21 1955

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Program, GAMWS	289
THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK	
A Literary Descendant of the <i>Aeneid</i>	Grace L. Beede 291
<i>Fabula de Tribus Ursis</i>	Laura Voelkel Sumner 291
	D. Herbert Abel 293
Literature in the Second Century	B. E. Perry 295
The Thirty Years War in Latin Teaching	J. D. Sadler 299
Landor and the "Higher Fountains"	Ann Gossman 303
"We See by the Papers"	John F. Latimer 308
NOTES	
The Catharsis of Pity and Fear	Oscar E. Nybakken 309
Medea, Ariadne, and Dido	Robert E. Lane 309
Some Notes on Knapp's <i>Aeneid</i>	Myra L. Uhlfelder 310
Tennyson and Catullus	William T. Avery 312
	John Crossett 313
Seneca, Exponent of Humanitarianism	Anna Lydia Motto 315
Seneca's Humanitarianism	Harry E. Wedeck 319
Propertius and Horace's <i>Quis multa gracilis</i>	Ralph Marcellino 321
Poetic Element in Herodotus' Speeches	Tad W. Guzie 326
<i>Novissima Latinitas</i> : Swedenborg's Latin	Johannes A. Gaertner 329
<i>Lingua Latina</i> : <i>Lingua Gentium</i>	Johannes A. Gaertner 331
BOOK REVIEWS	
<i>Rogeri Baconis Moralis Philosophia</i> (Massa)	Grundy Steiner 335
	Johannes A. Gaertner 335

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TO CONTRIBUTORS

Papers of competent scholarship with brief, informative captions and a minimum of notes and scholastic impedimenta are especially suited to this journal. Give brief citations of passages within parentheses in the text to avoid many short notes usually involving repetition. Place notes at the end, double-spaced like the text. Arabic rather than Roman numerals, except for massive tomes — in which case omit "Vol." before the Roman. Omit p. or page vs. or l. and anything not needed for intelligibility. One note, as "All

references (unless otherwise identified) are to . . ." can often save space. Greek characters must be transliterated. Return corrected galleys promptly (cutting off blank paper if you like) and change from copy only for urgent reasons, disturbing as few lines as possible. No reprints. Copies of the whole issue to contributors, if ordered in advance, at: 25c ea. for 1st 25, 20c ea. for 2nd 25, 15c ea. beyond 50. Since at least six weeks elapse from the time copy is turned into the printer till the number is distributed, notices with dead-lines should be sent some two months in advance.

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FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING
CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH
CONGRESS HOTEL, CHICAGO, APRIL 7-9, 1955

PROGRAM

(All Daytime Meetings for the Reading of Papers in The Glass Hat.)

Thursday, April 7

8:30 a.m. Registration. Foyer of the Glass Hat. (A registration fee of \$1 will be asked of all attending the meeting in whole or in part.)

9:00 a.m. Meeting of the Executive Committee, Tally Ho Room.

9:30 a.m. ALFRED P. DORJAHN, Northwestern University, Presiding.

RICHARD J. CARBRAY, Lake Forest Academy, "From Vergil to Dante—The Transition in Language."

MARCUS A. HAWORTH, S.J., St. Louis University, "Parody and Humor in Medieval Goliardic Poetry."

ALLAN CABANISS, University of Mississippi, "Dhuoda, France's First Woman of Letters."

HAZEL BARNES, University of Colorado, "Myth and Human Experience."

CHARLOTTE LUDLUM, Berea College, "Sophocles and the Modern French Theater." (15 min.)

ALBERT RAPP, University of Tennessee, "A Greek Gourmet." (15 min.)

2:00 p.m. HENRY C. MONTGOMERY, Miami University, Presiding.

CHAUNCEY E. FINCH, St. Louis University, "An Acrostic Poem by Gregory Nazianzen?" (15 min.)

JOHN H. QUINCY, University of Sydney, Australia, and The University of Colorado, "The Minotaur Myth in Hesiod." (15 min.)

GRAVES H. THOMPSON, Hampden-Sydney College, "The Literary Sources of Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne*."

HARRY J. LEON, University of Texas, "Sarcophagi from the Jewish Catacombs of Rome."

A. PELZER WAGENER, College of William and Mary, "The Arx Albana of Domitian." (30 min.)

7:00 p.m. Florentine Room. Annual Subscription Banquet (\$4.35 per plate, tip included), formal dress optional. NORMAN J. DEWITT, University of Minnesota, Presiding.

Greetings: JAMES J. MERTZ, S.J., Loyola University.

Response: First Vice-President DONNIS MARTIN, Winthrop College.

Ovations: WILLIAM C. KORFMACHER, St. Louis University.

"Seeing Greece with Both Eyes," OSCAR BRONEER, University of Chicago.

Presidential Address: ARTHUR H. MOSER, University of Tennessee, "Pocimur."

Friday, April 8

7:30 a.m. State Vice-Presidents will meet for breakfast, Buckingham Room. Secretary JOHN N. HOUGH, Presiding.

9:30 a.m. REVILO P. OLIVER, University of Illinois, Presiding.

JOHN G. HAWTHORNE, University of Chicago, "Pericles the Olympian."

G. M. A. GRUBE, University of Toronto, "Demetrius On Style. A Neglected Critic."

CHESTER L. NEUDLING, University of Arkansas, "Philodemus' Theory of Poetry."

ROBERT B. LLOYD, Oberlin College, "Penatibus et Magnis Dis."

ROBERT G. HOERBER, Westminster College, "Greek Views on Revelation of the Gods."

2:00 p.m. DONNIS MARTIN, First Vice-President, Winthrop College, Presiding.

A. D. FRASER, University of Virginia, "The Two Metamorphoses of the Plebs." (15 min.)

WILLIAM SEAMAN, Michigan State College, "The Roman Name in Historical Fiction." (15 min.)

Symposium: Matters Vergilian

ALFRED P. HAMILTON, Millsaps College, "The Messianic Hope in Vergil."

WILLIAM J. TONGUE, University of Oklahoma, "Nisus and Euryalus." (15 min.)

ANNE KINGSBURY, Western Reserve University, "Vergil, Maeterlinck and the Entomologist."

D. HERBERT ABEL, Loyola University, "Approaching the Aeneid." (15 min.)

Discussion.

4:30 p.m. Meeting of Southern Section. CAMWS, Buckingham Room. H. LLOYD STOW, Vanderbilt University, President, Presiding.

7:30 p.m. Florentine Room. GERALD F. ELSE, President-Elect, State University of Iowa, Presiding.

Symposium on "Minoan" Linear B (60 min.)

1. The Decipherment—TOM B. JONES, University of Minnesota.

2. The Language—DONALD C. SWANSON, University of Minnesota.

3. Historical Implications—WILLIAM A. McDONALD, University of Minnesota.

BERTHOLD L. ULLMAN, University of North Carolina, "Cleopatra's Pearls." (30 min.)

Saturday, April 9

9:00-10:00 a.m. Business Session, ARTHUR H. MOSER, Presiding.

10:15 a.m. Final Session. JONAH W. D. SKILES, University of Kentucky, Presiding.

OSCAR E. NYBAKKEN, State University of Iowa, "The Nature of Achilles' Guilt." (15 min.)

ANN FLEMING DEAGON, Furman University, "Tacitus and the Historian's ethos." (15 min.)

WALTER R. AGARD, University of Wisconsin, "The Classics on the Midwest Frontier."

EDWARD C. ECHOLS, University of Alabama, "The Possession of Purple in the Late Empire."

HOW TO GET THERE

These notes are intended as preliminary travel information; for, while the average distance from the hotel to the railway stations is almost the lowest among the major hotels of the city, the six Chicago railway terminals are scattered for a considerable distance along a great arc to the west and south of the loop; hence some are quite a bit less handy than others.

The terminals are listed in descending order of accessibility (judged by distance and traffic conditions) to the hotel. Transportation from them will normally be by taxi (rates below), although Michigan Avenue busses can be used from ILL. CENT. STATION and the ambitious may elect to walk the shorter distances by day. The following information is given: (1) in parentheses, the approximate distance (in miles; e.g., it is slightly less than half a mile from the DEARBORN STATION to the Congress Hotel); (2) the street location of the terminal; (3) the railroads or routes served.

RAILWAY TERMINALS

DEARBORN STATION (.45), Polk Street, one block west of State: C. & E. I., C. & W. I., Erie, Santa Fe, Grand Trunk, Monon, and Wabash.

ILL. CENT. STATION (.55), Michigan Avenue at Twelfth Street (Roosevelt Road): I.C. and N.Y.C. (Mich. Central and Big Four).

GRAND CENTRAL (.55), Harrison at Wells: B. and O., Chesapeake and Ohio (Pere Marquette), C.G.W., and Soo.

LA SALLE STREET STATION (.7) LaSalle and Van Buren: N.Y.C., Nickel Plate, and Rock Island.

UNION STATION (1.0), Canal Street between Adams and Jackson: C.M. & St.P., G.M. & O., Pennsylvania, Burlington, and Great Northern.

CNW (1.3), Canal and Madison: Chicago and North Western (Union Pacific).

BUS DEPOTS

Greyhound and Bluebird busses arrive at the new terminal at Randolph and Clark (.9). Trailways busses arrive at 20 E. Randolph (.7). Some busses entering the city from the south stop at a smaller depot at Twelfth Street (Roosevelt Road) and Wabash (.6).

AIR TRANSPORTATION

Cab fare from the airport runs around \$2.50. Limousine service directly to the hotel costs about \$2.00. Many airlines have bus service to the airport from loop ticket offices in the vicinity of Monroe and Wabash and Adams and Wabash (c.4). G.S.

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

"WE ARE ALL AWARE that the reputation of the APA among high school teachers is one of high austerity and incomprehensible scholarship," writes Paul MacKendrick (its Secretary). Yet there was its committee, headed by Professor Else, which aimed to translate that scholarship into a form acceptable to the less erudite, and CJ was a beneficiary in interesting papers. APA has backed the Guidance Pamphlet; now has a committee on *Educational Training and Trends* which is to present a panel at the Chicago meeting in December. I used to take *Classical Philology* at an age when I was hard put to it in understanding much; but it was a challenge, and Paul Shorey said something sensible to that effect in an early number of CJ. Since some Latin teachers are poorly prepared, it raises the general level if others of them are disposed to take themselves seriously in the profession. Membership and the annual volume cost \$6 a year, which should be sent to Paul MacKendrick, Bascom Hall, U. of Wis., Madison 6. [Ed.]

THE TEACHER'S SCRAPBOOK

Edited by Grace L. Beede

A LITERARY DESCENDANT OF THE AENEID

TEACHERS of the *Aeneid*, both in high school and in college, will find an interesting literary descendant of the great Roman poem in a Portuguese epic which is now available in a good — and an inexpensive — English edition. The Portuguese work was written in the sixteenth century by Luis Vaz de Camoes and is called *Os Lusíades*, *The Lusiads*.¹

The writing of a major national epic is often the product of a "golden" or highly creative era. The great narrative and romantic epics of ancient literature concentrated on the exploits of a single character. Such writing is a natural outgrowth of the hero story. In every period of expansion tales are told of great heroes. Some of these undoubtedly historical characters are fortunate enough to have had their deeds immortalized by truly great poets. Others, like the heroes of our own western expansion, have not progressed beyond the folklore and ballad stages.

In western literature Homer began the type of the narrative epic. He may, as has been suggested, merely have gathered together tales of itinerant bards. Even if that situation is the true one, the clear hand of a master poet is evident in the gleeless simplicity of words and story, woven into unforgettable patterns of rhythm.

Homer's most famous and perhaps most successful creative imitator was Virgil, but the *Aeneid* is not a casual collection of simple stories, told in effortless verse. It was written in a conscious effort to give the Romans both a national hero (who incidentally was hailed as the ancestor of the ruling emperor) and a noble poem. One of the most remarkable traits of the *Aeneid* is its success in fulfilling both of these purposes.

Virgil, in his turn, had imitators, both in Latin and in other languages. *The Lusiads* is one of the more interesting and successful later creative imitations. The Portuguese poem was known in English only in a few and uniformly dull translations until

the 1952 version by William C. Atkinson. The translator admits that he has omitted some of the longer and less significant descriptions found in the original poem. In spite of these and other concessions to twentieth century taste the result is an extremely readable English prose work.

The Lusiads is divided into 10 cantos. A brief résumé shows a striking similarity to the plan of the *Aeneid*, especially to the first six books of the Roman epic.

- I. Theme: the glories of Portugal
Invocation to Muses. Dedication to King Sebastiao.
Council on Olympus. Venus, supported by Mars, pleads for Portuguese against Bacchus.
Da Gama, sailing up the east coast of Africa, has a narrow escape from Moslem treachery, perpetrated by Bacchus.
- II. Venus and the Nereids prevent a second treacherous attempt.
Jupiter promises Venus victory for the Portuguese in the east.
Mercury prepares a favorable reception for da Gama at Malindi. King of Malindi receives Portuguese and asks da Gama about his country and his voyage.
- III. Invocation of Epic Muse.
Geography of Europe.
History of Portugal from Lusus to Fernando I (reply of da Gama to questions of King of Malindi).
- IV. Further history of Portugal, to the sailing of da Gama expedition.
- V. Voyage as far as Malindi, including monsters and phenomena seen on route.
Indebtedness of great heroes to poets for fame.
- VI. Banquet in honor of Portuguese.
Da Gama sails with a new pilot.
Bacchus visits Neptune and Aeolus sends winds against da Gama.
Storm. Da Gama prays and Venus calms winds.
India is sighted.
- VII. Praise of Portuguese as defenders of the faith.
Negotiations with natives.
- VIII. Portuguese heroes from Lusus through the navigators.
Bacchus again plots against Portuguese.
Da Gama finally escapes from detention on shore by promise of profit. Power of money.
- IX. Da Gama leaves India.
Island of Love interlude.
- X. Banquet on island.
Tethys leads da Gama to mountain peak and explains the universe. Describes Portuguese conquest to come.
Final exhortation to King Sebastiao.

From the opening lines Camoens admits that he is writing the Portuguese *Aeneid*, and he deliberately invites comparison with his model. Even the title, with its patronymic ending, echoes the form of the Latin title. The *Lusiads* are the descendants of Lusus, a companion of Bacchus, who is said to have been the first settler in Portugal. The area is still poetically called Lusitania.

The purpose of Camoens in writing *The Lusiads* was to give Portugal a great hero, a great poem, and to make the Portuguese people conscious of the greatness of their heritage. The central character of the poem is a weary voyager who is, however, not Lusus, but a descendant, a Lusiad. In fact, the hero is the historical navigator, Vasco da Gama, who was a distant relative of the author.

Besides the glorification of Portuguese conquest, *The Lusiads* has a deeply religious inspiration. It is concerned with the great conflict between Christianity and Mohammedanism. Because of this religious basis the modern reader is at once amazed at the opening scene in the poem. After the invocation, Camoens describes a council of the gods on Mt. Olympus which has been called to decide the fate of the Portuguese who have just rounded the Cape of Good Hope and are seeking a passage to India under the leadership of da Gama. Venus, who has transferred her affections from the Romans to the Portuguese, pleads their case before Jupiter. Her opponent, however, is not the wily queen of the gods, Juno, but Bacchus, whose objection is solely based on the fear that da Gama's fame may overshadow his own in the east.

During the course of the poem various other ancient gods and goddesses appear: Mars, Mercury, Diana, Apollo, Neptune, Vulcan, to name the more significant ones. In a curious mixture of Christian theology and classical mythology, Mercury appears to da Gama in a dream. When the Portuguese captain awakens he tells his crew that God has sent a messenger to him. Atkinson, the translator of the poem, discusses the use of the ancient gods in his introduction. The Olympian deities are at once above human mortality and yet subject to similar passions and faults. They serve, in addition, as allegorical representations of the forces of nature. Since God alone can control these forces, the Olympian deities are the symbols of the elements which are eternal in themselves, but are ultimately subjected to the will of the Almighty. The mixture of Biblical allusions

with those of ancient paganism only points to the dual training of Camoens as classicist and Christian.

Besides the gods and goddesses of antiquity we find references to many characters in classical legend and history. Alexander, Trajan, the members of the second triumvirate, Hannibal, Caesar are a few of the historical figures. Hercules, Atreus, Medea, many of the details of the tale of Troy, are among the legends used frequently for comparison.

The similes in the poem are also of interest to anyone who has struggled with the famous uses of the device in Virgil and Homer. Camoens has borrowed some of his elaborate ones from his predecessors; but we are conscious, too, of the similes which are different and which come directly from Portuguese life. On several occasions the bull and the bull fighter are used to good effect.

One big difference between the *Aeneid* and the *Lusiads* is in the matter of the love interest. *The Lusiads* is essentially a story for men. In fact Bacchus, a male deity, replaces Juno of the *Aeneid* and the King of Malindi is the royal host to the travellers instead of a queen like Dido. Camoens was writing too soon after the actual events to be permitted any plausible but untrue incidents, but as a poet he seems to have felt the need for feminine relief from the blood and gore of warfare. In the early cantos the florid descriptions of Venus are written with obvious pleasure and the tragic story of Ines de Castro, at the end of the third canto, is told with appropriate feeling. It is in the ninth canto that Camoens really lets his imagination run riot. Venus has devised a magic island where the weary voyagers are entertained by nymphs. This passage has caused much comment and criticism throughout the centuries. Camoens himself foresaw some of the difficulties involved in this poetical invention. He explains, rather prosaically, at the end of the canto that the island and the nymphs are the symbols of honors and fame. He then exhorts the Portuguese to strive for these honors and fame, both for themselves, and for the future glory of Portugal.

A further deliberate echo of the *Aeneid* is found in Camoens' description of Italy early in the third canto where the sentence "they are a people of glories in the arts of peace no less than of war" recalls the famous passage in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* where Virgil says: "remember Roman, / To rule the people under law, to establish / The way of peace, to battle down the

haughty, / To spare the meek. Our fine arts, these, forever."²

Camoens makes frequent mention of Virgil throughout the poem. Unlike the Roman poet, he himself led an active military life. He fought and suffered in the Portuguese occupation of India. Although the poem was published during his lifetime, he received little compensation for it except a meager annuity from the king and scant recognition from the literary critics of his day. Throughout the poem he urges the king, to whom the poem is dedicated, to reward the poet. Portugal needs a Virgil, Camoens says at the end of the third canto, but Virgil had the patronage of Augustus! He frequently boasts of his ability as a poet. At the end of the work he assures the king that the sovereign has only to conduct an expedition. His deeds will be the subject of Camoens' next epic and the ruler will not, like Alexander, have to envy Achilles his Homer.

It has not been the purpose of this paper to make an academic study of the similarities and the differences between the *Aeneid* and its literary descendant, *The Lusads*. It is hoped, however, that this brief discussion will arouse your interest in the work so that you and your students can make other and more detailed discoveries for yourselves.

LAURA VOELKEL SUMNER

Mary Washington College

NOTES

¹ Camoens, *The Lusads*. A new translation by William C. Atkinson. The Penguin Classics, 1952.

² Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI, 850-3. The translation is from *Classics in Translation*, II, edited by P. L. Mackendrick and H. M. Howe, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1952, p. 3.

ALL FOREIGN LANGUAGE

The Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages is to hold its seventh annual meeting at the Hotel New Yorker, New York City, April 1-2. At least 1200 teachers are expected. Over ninety institutions in the East are sponsoring the convention, and CANE and CAAS are co-operating. Dr. Hoo of the United Nations is to be one of the distinguished speakers there. With like aims, the *Interlanguage Teachers Committee of Greater Chicago* has been formed. Included are: D. Herbert Abel, President, the *Chicago Classical Club*; Mrs. Frances K. Dykes, President, *Illinois Classical Conference*.

FABULA DE TRIBUS URSIS

OLIM ERANT URSI TRES qui habitabant villam in margine silvarum. Erat Ursus Pater, ingens, cum magna ac ferocissima voce; erat Ursa Mater, media forma, cum mediocri voce; erat tandem Ursa Infans cum parvula ac stridente voce.

Erat uni cuique trium ursorum suum poculum proprium, mirabiliter aptum iuri (Anglice *porridge*). Erat poculum ingens Urso Patri; erat poculum mediocre Ursae Matri; erat poculum parvulum Ursae Infanti. Unum quodque poculum signatum est nomine unius ex ursis tribus.

Erant autem quoque suae propriae cathedrae (Anglice: *chairs*). Ursus Pater ingentem cathedram habebat; Ursa Mater mediocre cathedram habebat, ac Ursa Infans cathedram suam parvulam habebat. Hanc cathedram Ursa Infans utpote plurimum amabat.

Superiore parte villae erat cubiculum. In hoc cubiculo tres ursi habebant tres lectos (Anglice: *beds*). Erat lectus ingens Urso Patri; erat lectus medicris Ursae Matri; atque erat lectulus parvulus Ursae Infanti.

Illo die, dum Sol terras calescit et dum ius (Anglice: *porridge*) refrigerat, ursi animos inducant ambulare in silvis. Dum ursi, procul ambulantes, absunt, puella parvula, cui propter flavos capillos nomen Aureocoma (Anglice: *Goldilocks*) datum erat, ad villam ursorum venit. Puella pulsabat portam, sed nemo respondebat. Tum, moribus suis omissis, per fenestram intropiciebat. Sed nullum hominem intra poterat puella videre.

Aureocoma per foramen (Anglice: *keyhole*) quoque intropiciebat. Nemo apparuit. Cum portam tangeret, invenit eam reseratam (Anglice: *unlocked*). Ergo portam aperuit et in villam intravit. Puella clamavit: "Eia! Numquid adest?" Nemo respondebat. Iam nunc ius stabat tribus poculis in mensa. Quam bonum aspicitur! Aureocoma plurimum esuriebat, cum procul in silvis ipsa ambulasset; ergo illa in animo

habebat nihil aliud quam minimum gustum de poculo sumere.

Primum deposuit cochlear (Anglice: spoon) in illo ingenti poculo Ursi Patris. Aureocoma gustavit, sed ius tam calidum erat ut paene linguam torreret. "Hoc est nimium calidum," clamavit. Deinde ius in mediocri poculo Ursae Matris gustavit. "Hoc est nimium frigidum," inquit Aureocoma. Postremo ius in poculo parvulo Ursae Infantis gustavit. Id neque nimium calidum neque nimium frigidum erat, sed aequum et proprium linguae tam parvulae puellae erat. "Oh, quam bona gustatio," inquit, et ius omne comedit.

Tum Aureocoma cathedras temptavit. In cathedra ingenti Ursi Patris se posuit, at illa nimium dura erat. Deinde cathedram Ursae Matris temptavit. "Haec est nimium mollis," inquit. Tum demum Aureocoma cathedram parvulam temptavit. Illa neque nimium dura neque nimium mollis erat, sed aequa et propria sibi. Tam violenter autem sessit ut cathedra deiceretur atque fracta esset, et Aureocoma in pavimentum cecidit.

Aureocoma quam plurimum fessa erat, postquam diu ac longum in silvis ambulavit. Cum ad superiorem partem villae advenit et in cubiculum intraret, se inclinavit ingenti lecto Ursi Patris. "Hic lectus nimium durus est," inquit. Deinde se posuit lecto mediocri. "Hic est nimium mollis," inquit. Postremo in lectulum Ursae Infantis saltavit. Hic parvus lectulus neque nimium durus neque nimium mollis erat; aequus et proprius tam parvulae puellae erat. "Mehercule, hoc est gratissimum," inquit Aureocoma, et subito obdormivit.

In illo tempore factum est ut ursi tres domum redirent, itinere suo in silvis perfuncto. Ursus Pater ingentissimus, cum videret cochlear stans in suo magno poculo iuris, maxima ac ferocissima voce clamavit: "Est qui vescatur iure meo." Ursa Mater, media forma, ad suum poculum iuris aspiciens, quoque vidit cochlear stans in poculo. "Est qui vescatur iure meo,"

clamavit voce mediocri. Postremo parvula Ursa Infans ad suum poculum aspexit. Invenit cochlear stans in poculo, sed de iure plane nihil reliquum erat. "Est qui vescatur iure meo, et improbus id totum comedit," clamavit sua parvula ac stridente voce.

Tum Ursus Pater ad cathedram suam maximam aspexit. "Est qui meam cathedram occupaverit," voce maxima ac ferocissima clamavit. Ursa Mater quoque ad suam cathedram mediocrem aspexit. Clamavit illa mediocri voce: "Est qui meam cathedram occupaverit. Quis gentium in domo esse potuit?" Postremo Ursa Infans ad cathedram suam aspexit, quae fracta in pavimento iacet. "Est qui meam cathedram occupaverit atque eam in plurima fragmenta fregerit," inquit sua parvula ac lugubriosa voce. Tum lacrimavit ac lacrimavit ac lacrimavit.

"Videamus nunc," inquit Ursus Pater, "num aliquis superiore parte villae sit." Cum autem Ursus Pater in cubiculum intraret et lectum suum videret, ferocissima voce clamavit: "Aliquis incubuit meo lecto." Deinde Ursa Mater ad lectum suum aspexit, ac mediocri voce clamavit: "Aliquis incubuit meo lecto." Postremo parvula Ursa Infans, cum ad lectulum suum adveniret, invenit ibi Aureocomam dormientem somno profundo. "Aliquis incubuit meo lecto, et Ecce! Ipsa est!" clamavit voce tremula ac stridente.

Aureocoma hoc tantum tempus dormiverat, sed Ursa Infans clamore vocis stridentis eam excitavit. Aureocoma surgebat et somnolenta oculos fricabat. Cum oculis plane aperiret, videbat tres ursos ferocissime intuentes.

Aureocoma tanto timore perterrita erat ut lectulo statim saltaret et e cubiculo quam celerrime curreret. Ac tres ursi spectaverunt donec exiit. A villa Aureocoma subito se erupit, et via sinuosa per silvas percucurrit. Numquam, cred te mihi, amici mei, Aureocoma pedem stitit donec tuta et salva domum suam ad matrem rediit.

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Literature in the Second Century

HADRIAN HAS BEEN CALLED the most typical man of his age. In his personality, which Professor Rowell has so well described, we see outstanding all the principal attitudes of mind and temperament which determined the nature of literature in the second century, and which are everywhere manifested in it. Indeed we may say of that literature, if we personify it, what was said of Hadrian himself, that it is *omnium curiositatum explorator, in omnibus rebus varius*. Before dwelling on this literature more specifically, let us ask ourselves what kind of an outlook on life in general is implied by these attitudes, and by the Hadrianic psychosis. How shall we define this *Weltanschauung* with reference to its underlying essentials? And how, moreover, did it come into being, and finally pass away? On these large topics very little can be said in fifteen minutes;* but it is important to view the thing in historical perspective. Let us call what we are speaking about, for convenience, the "Hellenistic soul".

Well, this Hellenistic soul is profoundly uninterested in the realities of here and how. It looks outward and away from society as it is, seeking its satisfactions in the form of escapes into what is far off in time, space or possibility, or in what is purely personal and apart from the normal activities

of the contemporary world—which world seemed to offer to most men no worthy theater for the exercise of their energies, hopes, and ambitions. Ever since the time of Alexander, thinking men and intellectuals, including philosophers, scientists, scholars, poets and rhetoricians, had been living and working—with lessening vigor and enthusiasm as time went on—in the proverbial ivory tower of academic scholarship. They were talking to each other rather than to the world at large, but not yet entirely to themselves, like the muttering Marcus Aurelius, who with his contemporaries stands in the twilight of Hellenistic culture; and, great though the achievements of these intellectuals were in some fields of science, philosophy and criticism, yet they exercised very little influence upon the generality of mankind; and the great masses of ordinary men continued to move throughout on a very different and lower plane of thought and feeling; and it was *their* will and sentiment, and not that of the intellectuals, which, in the long run, decided the turn of history and brought about, at the end of a long cultural cycle, in the form of internationally established Christianity, a closed form of society—a form of society which gave to Western man much of the spiritual poise and comfort which he had once enjoyed in the closed society of the old city-state. That earlier way of life, wherein the city taught the man and gave meaning, direction

* Read before a joint meeting of APA and AIA, New York, December 29, 1953, as part of a program devoted to the Age of Hadrian.

and importance to his career, and in which the interests of the individual were bound up by many ties with those of his fellow citizens, was something very dear to the heart of ancient men, something which they had lost, not through any will of their own (as in the time of the French Revolution), but by a fatality. What happened to the Hellenistic soul with the passing of the city-state might be called emancipation in terms of the usual present-day values, in that the minds of men were freed to a great extent from the control of custom and fixed beliefs, and their intellectual and spatial horizons enormously widened. But this event was more like an explosion in its effect than like a liberation; and the Hellenistic man was not glad about it, nor hopeful, and did not see it as Progress, Freedom or Enlightenment, or as the dawn of opportunity for Everyman. Unlike our modern romantics, he was not forward-looking. He was deeply, if not always consciously, unhappy in having had his soul blown into fragments and scattered abroad into a vastly expanded world, wherein he himself, as an isolated and excommunicated individual, lost nearly all his *quondam* importance and representative significance, having become too tiny to be tragic, or heroic, or poetic, or symbolical of anything more than himself or a particular segment of contemporary society. He could understand or be Strep-siades or Dicaeopolis or Chremes or Chaereas the young lover, but he could not wear the tragic mask of Oedipus, or Ajax, or Agamemnon, not though he were Caesar himself. The bigger the world, the smaller the man. Faced with the immensity of things and his own helplessness before them, the spirit of man in Hellenistic times became passive in a way that it had never been before, and he regarded himself instinctively as the plaything of Fortune. This is conspicuous from first to last in the Greek romance which reached its greatest proliferation in the second century; and, incidentally, the

romance or novel, considered as latter-day epic for Everyman, was, owing to its preoccupation with action, its particularity, its extension and looseness, its unconcentrated nature, and its adaptability to the expression of all kinds of values, high and low, the one literary form which was best suited to the Hellenistic age, and which would have prevailed over all others, tending to absorb them all as it does to-day, and as the old epic had done, had it not been suppressed by the force of learned tradition.

In being cut off from his career as the citizen of a small state, the Hellenistic man had lost the established and sure way of life, and had become a spiritual wanderer who seldom knew where to go or what to do, with the result that he went almost everywhere in mind and body and thought all kinds of thoughts. He was restless and lonesome. He might or might not be actively engaged in the quest for a personal salvation or for a new guide to life. Such a quest would be in philosophy for the few, but in religion or astrology for the many. If a man was not so engaged, he amused himself as well as he could according to his understanding and temperament. The intellectual man retreated into the ivory tower and lulled his soul to peace by devoting himself to learning, or to art for art's sake; but the great majority of men lived with the world as it was and made what they could of it. That was not much, because the world for most people was so big and so empty, and their own part in it so meaningless; and because men were dissatisfied or bored with its realities, they tended to look away from it in their quest for all that was interesting or valuable, even as Hadrian looked away from Rome. This was the fundamental state of mind out of which grew in time that more complete renunciation of the world in favor of something beyond which appeared in Christianity and reached its highest expression in the lives of the saints and anchorites.

In its milder and purely secular manifestations this otherworldliness is more evident in the literature of the second century than ever before or afterwards; for in that century the upsurge of genuinely popular taste and feeling, which may be described as profoundly *romantic* in its outlook, is breaking through the upper crust of a traditional and intellectual formalism which had long kept it suppressed and concealed; and after the second century this secular romanticism passes more often into the form of religious mysticism, in which it was finally absorbed.

In the time of Hadrian, the spiritual nature of Hellenistic man, which had always been restless, wonder-seeking and romantic, was beginning to triumph over his rational nature. The latter is growing weak, while the former is gaining in power and asserting itself more freely than ever. In the end the irrational force, which demands the answers to problems in the form of authority, will win out; but meanwhile there is everywhere a great yearning on the part of men, even among those of the most diverse dispositions, for a revelation of some kind. They long for the unveiling of secrets; and the psychological basis for that longing is essentially the same whether the secrets are those of religion or of worldly phenomena. The man who goes about in quest of salvation in the form of divine revelation, like Pseudo-Clement of Rome, and he who thinks only of gratifying his curiosity or his love of the wonderful, are both travelling in the same direction psychologically; they are moving toward what is far off, strange, or unknown, and away from what is real and rational. This anti-rational wonder-seeking spirit, which may be called simply the *romantic* spirit, underlies all the literature of the second century, and is that which determines its character, varied though its manifestations are.

The most famous literary men of the time, and the most highly honored,

were the sophists—men like Fronto, Aelius Aristides and Maximus of Tyre whose writings have come down to us, and such others as Favorinus, Polemon and Herodes Atticus, who are known to us only by their enormous reputations. These men have nothing important, timely or interesting to say in their substance, but are mere rhetoricians. All their brains and learning are sacrificed on the altar of their style, whereby they try to speak in words and phrases, and to a large extent also on topics whose currency and reality were four or five hundred years removed from the realities of their own time. It is romantic to try to write like Plato or Demosthenes in the age of Hadrian; and still more so for Latin authors like Gellius, Fronto and Apuleius to court the admiration of their readers and their love of novelty, by the exhibition of rare and obsolete words culled from pre-Ciceronian writers. We are told that Hadrian himself preferred Cato to Cicero, Ennius to Vergil, and Caelius Antipater to Sallust. This cultivation of style and of archaism on its own account entails the neglect of anything valuable in subject matter; hence the sophistic movement of the second century represents a long retreat from science, history and philosophy, as cultivated in the previous century by such men as Seneca, Plutarch, Tacitus and Pliny. The rhetorician for the first time in history has usurped the place of the philosopher, historian, and scientist on the throne of learning, and is encouraged on all sides to believe that his own meaningless word-working is the highest of callings.

Of course not all the learned writers of the age were of this kind. Such scholars as Galen, Claudius Ptolemy, Pausanias, Arrian and Appian stand apart from the sophistic movement and make literary art subservient to the pursuit of scientific or historical truth. Whatever we may think of their original contributions—for they did more to

summarize knowledge than to extend it—they were at least serious thinkers, concerned with important matters, and in that respect worthy of their Alexandrian predecessors.

But these men are exceptional. In the bulk of second-century writing, natural science is overshadowed by paradoxography and miracle lore, philosophy by sophistry and religious mysticism, and philological scholarship by an arid scholasticism which excerpts and epitomizes ancient literature, and wraps it up in the canonical packages which alone have survived. Major losses in classical literature are due to the editing of selections and excerpts in this period. Classical literature was praised as something romantic; but its substance was no longer understood or appreciated—*omne ignotum pro magnifico*.

This is the negative side of the drive to romance. Science is retreating on all fronts before the onset of otherworldliness, mysticism, and the craving for revelation, for the answering of problems by authority, and for the closing of an all-too-open society.

On the positive side we may note, in conclusion, the great popularity in the second century of romantic narratives and fictions of every sort—ideal, sensational, or superstitious, trivial or tragic; and the fact that this kind of literary entertainment, which had previously been held in contempt among fashionable writers, except insofar as it was brief and incidental to something more important than itself, or poetized, has now risen much higher in the scale of literary tolerance and respectability than ever before, and is exploited for its own sake with only a minimum of formal justification in Lucian and Apuleius, and none at all in the long romances of love and adventure. The latter were produced in greater quantity than before, and their rise to semi-respectability, as of a parvenu in society, is witnessed by the fact that they were no longer disdained

as a medium of expression by so accomplished a sophist as Jamblichus in his *Babyloniaca*, and by a man of such cultivated taste and understanding as the author of *Daphnis and Chloe*. In Lucian and Apuleius, both of whom by contrast are top-ranking sophists, romantic fiction is purveyed to the reading public under the pretext of satire and philosophy in the former, and in the latter under that of religion. These pretexts are the necessary shields of respectability, under which romantic fiction for its own sake is hidden, and without which either writer would have ruined his reputation and even his self-respect. But the pretext is only a formality; and the real motive of both writers is to entertain readers with the kind of subject matter that they enjoy. Lucian and Apuleius have gone a great deal further in this direction than any other equally respected prose writers of antiquity, either before or after their time. The style of both writers is romantic in that it is archaic; and the style of Apuleius is something new and wonderfully rich, poetic and romantic, as compared with Lucian's Atticism or the pedantry of Fronto; but these two sophists are the only ones who cultivate romance in their subject matter as well as in their style. In the *Toxaris* Lucian gives us ten short stories of romantic adventure under the covering of what purports to be a philosophical dialogue on friendship; and in the *Metamorphoses* Apuleius, who is far more careless than Lucian about the wearing of his academic robes, after revelling in witch stories and Milesian tales for their own sake through ten long books, ends up in Bk. XI by hastily donning a mask of respectability, bowing before the public of polite letters, and announcing in effect that the foregoing adventures of Lucius were only a preparation for his salvation through the grace of Isis, whose ceremonies are here solemnly and beautifully described.

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The Thirty Years War in Latin Teaching

On leave and at Harvard on a Ford Fellowship, the writer comes fresh to this matter (as he modestly writes me), and aims at an impartial historical statement for the information of others not acquainted with the story in detail. [Ed.]

THE EARLY TWENTIES saw many complaints from Latin teachers: "students drop Latin after two years"; "English grammar isn't taught any more"; "technical subjects are taking over the schools"; "pupils learn only a small portion of the assigned grammar"; "their translations are generally atrocious." These conditions prompted the Classical Investigation, the most exhaustive study of Latin teaching ever made. In 1924 the members of the Investigation committee published their report,¹ which marked the beginning of the modern era of Latin teaching. Thirty years previously, in 1894, the Committee of Ten had made an earlier effort at a joint solution of problems.² While 1954 saw no great survey such as these, numerous individual experiments point to a feeling of discontent, a groping for better techniques. Therefore it may be enlightening to consider this latest thirty-year period in retrospect, to see just what has been accomplished.

The Classical Report, the first shot in the Thirty Years War, was the result of three years of work by hundreds of scholars, covering every aspect of Latin teaching; but one recommendation formed the foundation of the whole study, namely, that the primary immediate objective was the reading and understanding of Latin as Latin (i.e. in the Latin order).³ To this end, forms would be introduced functionally in connected reading before they were presented in paradigms. Grammatical content of the first year was to be lightened by delaying some constructions (notably the subjunctive) until the sec-

ond year. They also recommended a revision of the reading content to include made or adapted Latin as an introduction to Caesar (now to be delayed until the fourth semester). Some alternative reading to Cicero and Virgil was suggested for the third and fourth years.

The recommendations on content were accepted almost without question. Indeed, almost anything would have been an improvement over four books of Caesar, six speeches of Cicero, and six books of Virgil, the rigid curriculum ordained by the Committee of Ten. And relief from the strenuous grammar program was also welcome. Textbooks based on the Classical Report started appearing in the early thirties, and the tide of revisions and new offerings has not yet ceased. They all include made or adapted Latin up to the fourth semester, when Caesar is introduced (often adapted also). The third and fourth year books all contain selections from other authors besides Cicero and Virgil. The College Entrance Board, which formerly exercised strict control over the content, restated its requirements in terms of reading ability instead of material covered.

Almost everyone agreed on the reading of Latin as the primary immediate objective, but there agreement ended. Criticism of the "Latin as Latin" method hinged on two factors, the practicability of the method and the lack of instructions for implementing it.⁴ Rebuttal was immediately forthcoming. Mason D. Gray, a member of the Investigation Committee, wrote what might be called a textbook of the Classical Report.⁵ He listed the various objectives suggested by the Report and his interpretation of each. W. L. Carr and many other scholars offered detailed instructions on procedure.⁶ The principle that Latin is to be understood

directly and in the Latin order is in sharp contrast to the analytic method, in which the Latin is mentally rearranged into English order. One of the most fundamental tenets of the method is teaching the pupil to read Latin orally with proper emphasis and pauses. Forms are to be introduced in reading, as recommended by the Report. The student is trained in recognition of familiar words and getting the meaning of unfamiliar words from the context, derivatives, and related words. The Latin is to be understood without translating. Translation is not eliminated, but it is not necessarily the final test of understanding. Questions on comprehension, completion exercises, and other means of testing are often used. Devices such as graphic aids (means of marking constructions) and colometric (sense-line) writing are valuable in promoting understanding. One of the most important essentials for such a method (or any reading method) is a supply of reading materials of low vocabulary density (ratio of different words to running words) and burden (ratio of new words to running words). The burden in traditional high school and college authors is much too high for any degree of fluency in reading.

But reading, apart from the question of understanding or translation, was still the center of controversy. There was little agreement on the best way to teach a student to read Latin. W. L. Carr insisted that much of the grammar taught was useful only for writing Latin or construing, both of which were of doubtful value for reading.⁷ Reaction was immediate. Several professors objected on two counts: Latin writing fixes forms and grammatical concepts and helps one understand shades of meaning, and its omission represents a grave lowering of standards.⁸ Dorrance S. White, in his thorough methods textbook,⁹ also favors the more traditional approach. He insists on mastery of forms and syntax, translation into English, and writing in Latin. His book covers all phases of Latin teach-

ing, pronunciation, class procedure, even the Latin club, and contains an exhaustive bibliography.

The problem of minimum basic vocabulary has interested many. The original standard was Lodge's list,¹⁰ based on the traditional course. The present College Board List is merely a revision of Lodge, and includes only six authors in its count. But since the College Board relaxed its strict reading requirements, text writers have also taken license with the vocabulary, so that many words not on the Board List are assigned for mastery in the first year. The most important work in this field was done by Paul B. Diederich.¹¹ He counted 202,158 words from Classical prose, Classical poetry, and Medieval Latin. From this count he derived his recommended basic vocabulary of 1471 words, which he says constitute 83.6% of the words of Latin literature. According to Diederich, the College Board List of 1791 words will allow a student to recognize only 81.2%. He also points out that only 21 words constitute 25% of the words met in reading. His list has been recently revised by Gerald F. Else¹² by eliminating some of the strictly Medieval words, adding a few important Classical words, and grouping by word families.

Basic morphology has also received a great amount of study. Diederich, who made the greatest condensation, counted 10,000 forms and compiled a list of "eighteen basic endings", which he used as the foundation of his teaching. He stated that these endings, when combined with fourteen "penultimate signs", enable the student to recognize 90% of all the forms he will ever meet. William H. Strain,¹³ by counting 22,546 words from the high school authors, made some interesting discoveries. He found, among other things, that the accusative, ablative, and nominative are the most important cases, the dative and genitive relatively rare, and the locative and vocative almost insignificant. For verbs, the third person supplies 85% of the inflected forms, the

subjunctive is important and belongs in the first year, and the imperatives, the passive, and the future and future perfect are quite unimportant. For nouns, he recommends this teaching order: nominative, accusative, ablative, dative, genitive. This revised paradigm lists the more important cases first and also places identical forms in juxtaposition. For the verbs all conjugations should be taught simultaneously and the important irregular verbs introduced early.

It took a war to add new impetus to the streamlining of Latin teaching. The A.S.T.P. methods were often challenged for college courses on the obvious grounds that we cannot approach the amount of time devoted by the army, the unlimited finances which allowed small classes, and the unquestioned motivation.¹⁴ But the oral and linguistic approach found some adherents in the Latin field. Linguists made descriptive analyses of Latin, which resulted in the horizontal presentation of morphology, listing the five declensions and conjugations as one.¹⁵ This principle was not new, but it had never before been fully exploited. The Committee on Educational Policies of CAMWS, headed by Miss Lenore Geweke, utilized all previous research and completed a vast amount of new work in the effort to produce a more valuable two year high school course.¹⁶ The committee favored a morphology and syntax strictly for reading, a large amount of adapted materials in first year, and the use of Virgil in the second year. Waldo E. Sweet, in a series of summer workshops at the University of Michigan, has developed a linguistic method which emphasizes the differences between Latin and English grammar, absolute mastery of inflections, teaching of forms in context, the horizontal presentation, and the use of audio-visual aids.¹⁷ However, audio-visual aids are not restricted as to method, and their use has become increasingly popular throughout the years.¹⁸ Latin workshops flourish at many universities and

attract teachers during the summer for further study and research. And many teachers are at present engaged in individual projects, some covering the entire field and others single aspects.

This very brief survey has omitted many valuable contributions. No mention was made of all the work done on testing, derivatives, cultural material, and other important research. The scope of this paper does not even permit discussion of all the significant studies of method and content. I have attempted only to point out the main trends of thought. But perhaps enough has been said to provide an answer to our original question: what has been accomplished? Texts have been brightened by pictures, historical-cultural material in English, word studies, and other propaganda devices. Caesar has lost part of his stranglehold on the second year, and the grammatical burden has been considerably lightened. But the 1924 problems are still with us. English grammar has virtually disappeared from the schools, and the Latin grammatical "spread-out" has resulted in an even smaller total knowledge, not in the anticipated more thorough knowledge. Worst of all, Latin enrollment continues to drop. The total figures are still quite impressive, but when viewed realistically, as a percentage of the total enrollment, they show a tragic decline—from 50.6% in 1900 to 27.5% in 1922 to 7.25% in 1954.¹⁹

At least part of this loss can be traced directly to the changing pattern of education. Latin cannot possibly compete on equal terms with the courses in interpretive dancing, etiquette, and baby-sitting that are rampant today. Moreover, the "modernization" of the school system is continuing, and only the most optimistic can see signs of a return to fundamentals. The hostility of professional educators has often resulted either in the elimination of Latin from the curriculum or the assignment of Latin classes to teachers with inadequate training. But the decline cannot all be blamed on general language

apathy, for Spanish enrollment in recent years has actually shown an increase.

Much of Latin's trouble seems to stem from disunity within our own ranks. We have seen throughout these years a continuous struggle between the conservative and progressive elements; teachers cannot agree on two vital questions. First, is the reading method the most practical approach, or is it merely an over-simplification? Second, should Latin classes be tailored for the select few, or should they be designed for a wider appeal? The Classical Report was not unanimously applauded on its appearance, and its recommendations have not received full acceptance even today. The textbooks reflect the opposing viewpoints. They are, almost without exception, dedicated to the reading objective, but they are liberally seasoned with the remnants of formal grammar. This unhappy blend is ill suited to a true functional approach. Nor does it please the traditionalist, but it is probably safe to say that the majority of teachers use the texts as they always have, i.e., with rote memorization of vocabulary, paradigms, and constructions.

Let us pass on to more solid ground. Economy in teaching is equally as important as method. Since the average Latin pupil is at best only a transient, we need to consider carefully every word, every form, every construction to see what will be of most use to him. Furthermore, the important items should be given him at the very beginning, not in his last semester of Latin. Whatever we think about method, we must agree with the findings of the past twenty years on vocabulary and morphology. To my knowledge, no book has yet received general publication which incorporates all this research. It is unfortunate that there must be such a long interval between research and its product.

There has been much progress, then, since 1924, but it has been a sort of Pyrrhic victory. There is a great need

now for a re-examination of objectives, content, and method, and for agreement among teachers on these points, or our next thirty years of progress may be our last.

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NOTES

¹ *The Classical Investigation, Part I, General Report* (Princeton, 1924).

² *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Subjects* (New York, 1894).

³ Also recommended by the Committee of Ten, thus the official policy of Latin teachers for sixty years.

⁴ Nutting, H. C., "Reflections on the League Report", *CJ* 20 (1925), 211-9. White, Dorrance S., "What Price Method?", *CJ* 23 (1928), 511-9. Walker, A. T., "The Report of the Classical Investigation—A Criticism", *CJ* 25 (1929), 83-92.

⁵ Gray, Mason D., *The Teaching of Latin* (New York, 1929).

⁶ Of the vast bibliography on the subject, only a few of the more important articles will have to suffice: Carr, W. L., "Shall We Teach Our Pupils to Read Latin?", *CJ* 23 (1928), 500-10; "Reading Latin as Latin—Some Difficulties and Some Devices", *CJ* 26 (1930), 127-40; "Some Graphic Aids for Reading Latin as Latin", *CJ* 26 (1931), 399-400; "Vocabulary Density in High School Latin", *CJ* 29 (1934), 323-34; "More about Vocabulary Burden", *CO* 16 (1939), 77-9. Spillman, Mignonette, "Learning to Read in the Latin Order", *CJ* 24 (1929), 323-37. Peterson, Gilbert C., "Series Lines—An Aid to Vocal Reading of Latin", *CB* 10 (1934), 30-2. Hutchinson, Mark E., "Realism in Latin Teaching", *CJ* 30 (1935), 477-88; "The Reading Method—Is It Practical in Latin?", *CJ* 31 (1936), 289-302. Skiles, Jonah W. D., "The Teaching of the Reading of Latin in the Latin Word-Order", *CJ* 39 (1943), 88-104.

⁷ Carr, W. L., "Reading Latin and Writing Latin", *CW* 28 (1935), 129-33; "How Much Case Syntax?", *CO* 15 (1938), 49-50; "How Much Mood Syntax?", *CO* 18 (1941), 77-8.

⁸ Reiss, Ernst, Goodale, Grace H., Knapp, Charles, and Hahn, E. Adelaide, "Comments on Professor Carr's Paper", *CW* 28 (1935), 133-42.

⁹ White, Dorrance S., *The Teaching of Latin* (New York, 1941).

¹⁰ Lodge, Gonzales, *The Vocabulary of High School Latin* (New York, 1907).

¹¹ Diederich, Paul E., *The Frequency of Latin Words and Their Endings* (Chicago, 1939).

¹² Elise, Gerald F., "A Basic Vocabulary, along Etymological Lines", *CW* 45 (1952), 241-55.

¹³ Strain, William H., "Efficiency in Teaching Latin Inflections", *CJ* 33 (1937), 18-24; "Proposals for More Efficient Teaching of Latin Inflections", *CJ* 35 (1940), 257-75.

¹⁴ Cf. Finch, Chauncey E., "ASTP and the Teaching of Latin", *CB* 22 (1946), 41-2.

¹⁵ Hall, Robert A., "Classical Latin Noun Inflection", *CP* 41 (1946), 84-90. Sweet, Waldo E., "The Horizontal Approach", *CW* 43 (1950), 118-21; "The Horizontal Approach Applied to Verbs", *CW* 44 (1950), 5-7. Elise, Gerald F., "A Latin Morphology for Elementary Teaching", *CJ* 46 (1951), 249-54.

¹⁶ Committee on Educational Policies, "Toward Improvement of the High School Curriculum II", *CJ* 44 (1948), 97-142.

¹⁷ Magoon, Wallace H., "New Method of Teaching Latin", *CB* 29 (1953), 29-32.

¹⁸ Raanes, Florence E., "Audio-Visual Aids and Other Realia for the Latin Teacher", *CW* 43 (1950), 163-71. Seaman, William, "Suggestions for Planning a Visual Aids Program", *CW* 45 (1952), 177-80. Voelkel, Laura B., "Stop, Look, and Listen: A Re-examination and Evaluation of Audio-Visual Aids", *CW* 47 (1954), 83-6.

¹⁹ From a paper "The Chapeaux Bras of Education", read by John F. Latimer before APA, 1954.

Landor and the "Higher Fountains"

LANDOR HAS INDICATED ONE of his main purposes:

Permit me still to praise
The higher Genius of departed days.¹

That he was a classicist in a romantic age is an oversimplification; but undeniably his style could attain those qualities generally agreed upon as classical: purity, conciseness, clarity, objectivity, graceful simplicity, dignity. His writings are peopled with mortals and immortals from Greek and Roman literature. In addition he frequently expresses sentiments derived from his profound love of antiquity. At his best Landor gives appropriate and distinctive expression to heightened emotions and perceptions; such lyrics as *Rose Aylmer*, *Dirce*, and *On Man* best justify his method.

Since most of this paper is devoted to the best results, it may as well be admitted beforehand that Landor's early writing is sometimes excessively stiff, more neoclassical than classical, and that even his later and better writings have desert spots. The following is one of the flattest examples:

Thus we from war, and all its woes, retire
To fascinating scenes of elegant desire.
To those sensations which all arts can
 Pierce . . .

Those which the sapient king, of Judah's
tribe,

And Lesbian Sappho could so well describe.
May Lesbian Sappho pleasingly prolong
The flow'ry province of my wand'ring song.²

Something undoubtedly did prolong it;
but one doubts that it was Lesbian
Sappho.

Even when his style is faultless, he sometimes gives "a statue, not a breather;" as Saintsbury observes, "Landor was but half Pygmalion."³ And Colvin offers the rather damning extenuation that Landor's love poems "seldom fail to include, within the polished shell of verse, a solid and appropriate kernel, however minute, of

thought."⁴ The test of artistic control, to be sure, is the intensity of the emotion to be controlled; and when this intensity is low, one may agree with Mr. Bush that in spite of Landor's classical craftsmanship, "the root of the matter is not in him."⁵

At his best, however, Landor made remarkable use of the classical sentiments and imagery. The immortality that he cared about was fame among future generations. If the values of the Greeks were of this world, none the less they evinced at best a contempt for riches, power, or immoderate pleasure, and set a high value on the laurel crown and the olive wreath. Landor likewise could reject love, symbolized by the myrtle and rose, in favor of the constant olive. To a young poet he offers this consolation:

Worms revel in the slime of kings,
But perish where the laurel springs.

And he tells Rome that she has not lost all of her former glory, for there are the graves of Keats and Shelley. In praising Gibbon he uses the appropriate classical images of the laurels blooming amid the ruins and Superstition veiling her wrinkled brow.

Occasionally his poems are touched with the pagan sadness in the thought that the shades of the departed may not know of their later renown on earth. "O immortality of fame," Landor then asks, "What art thou?" If everything in this life is transitory, better a cat on the knee or a bird on the wrist than anything so fleeting as fame: "Can anything on earth sound long?" Whatever comfort he found in the classical ideal, he was nevertheless aware of the thorn in his laurel.

Regardless of his personal doubts—and he really knew that he was not writing on slate—he asked Apollo to allow him to give life to those who loved him. And just as the lady whose

name Spenser wrote on the strand, and Shakespeare's Dark Lady, and Ronsard's ungrateful Helen live on, so Landor gave immortal youth to the mortal Ianthe in the beautiful lyric, "Past ruined Ilion, Helen lives." Closest to Ronsard is the hope that some day the lady who never spoke a proud word would be proud to realize, "This man loved *me*!" In another lyric he tells how he has written what no tide will ever wash away—Ianthe's name.

Some of Landor's best lines are on the theme of death. Undoubtedly he had felt the clear classical sunlight fade into mist amid the strengthless shades of Homer, and appreciated the wistful myrtle groves of Vergil, and had been moved by Catullus' everlasting night: "Nox est perpetua una dormienda." His own finest contribution, in which the idea is perfectly fitted to the euphonious and balanced cadences, is the passage in *Aesop and Rhodope* that begins: "Laodameia died; Helen died; Leda, the beloved of Jupiter, went before." Some of his most compact and exquisitely carved lines occur in *The Death of Artemidora*. Artemidora belongs to the company of Eurydice and Alcestis. Invisible gods have prepared her for her journey to the next world, while the Fate's shears hang over her dark hair—a more effective image than the thread of life. In the original ending (later removed unfortunately) the "old boat incorruptible" glides away through the water. No greater tribute could have been paid Dirce than the distilled statement of the effect of her beauty on Charon—even Charon. The effect recalls that of Helen upon the Elders on the Wall of Troy. (The old ferryman and his boat, incidentally, must have made a vivid impression on Landor; for even in a moment of irritation against Leigh Hunt, his wish was that the offender might be swamped in Charon's punt.) The theme of Lethe occurs often, too: Landor wonders whether the dead may dream, or whether Death will be so cruel as to

"Break the bright image (Life's best gift) of you."

Able to sense the tragedy of mankind in the death of even a stranger, Landor turned his personal tragedy into a consummate universal lament for those whom power, beauty, goodness cannot save—an idea summed up in the rich words "the scepter'd race" and "the form divine" in *Rose Aylmer*. When Southey died, Landor spoke movingly in austere, pure lines without adornment:

Southey, my friend of forty years, is gone,

And, shattered by the fall, I stand alone.

In the spring when his sister Elizabeth died, he wrote the poignant lyric that begins: "Sharp crocus wakes the forward year." Much of the time he was alone, but he was consoled in the thought of those who waited for him on that "sunnier shore"—surely not the dark river of Hades, unless it is conceived of as bright in comparison with his dark life, or bright with their presence. In Landor's anticipation of his own death, there is "not a word of fear."

Of Landor's preferences among the classical authors there is much more evidence among his writings than can be summarized here. He was as unsympathetic as Lucian was toward Plato and Socrates; he sent his high-spirited Aspasia in the disguise of a boy to the theater to see *Prometheus*; he offered detailed textual criticism as well as a broad estimate of Catullus. Among his best translations is the following:

Yes! my Lesbia! let us prove
All the sweets of life in love.

We, when sets our twinkling light,
Sleep a long-continued night.

To be sure, "Let us kiss, and kiss, and kiss" does not quite capture the *basia mille, deinde centum*; but in a poem to Neaera, somewhat reminiscent of Propertius, though with greater delicacy and tenderness, he declares:

Thank heaven, Neaera, once again

Our hands and ardent lips shall meet,
And Pleasure, to assert his reign,
Scatter ten thousand kisses sweet.

Here are at least some of those kisses beyond reckoning. Landor's translation of *Carmen 75*, ending "Lesbia, I must love you still," is also among his best. Frequently he was content to paraphrase or to omit needless crudities; and in *Carmen 13*, in which Fabullus is invited to dinner, provided that he will furnish the dinner, Landor decided to omit the concluding whimsy about a perfume so sweet that Fabullus will wish to become all nose, because someone should intervene "to correct, or divert in part, a wish so engrossing." Even in his opprobrious writings, Landor has a parallel in Catullus; one of the milder examples is the lampoon beginning, "Your face is like an unwash'd carrot's." And what is that extravagant little piece, "One tooth has Mummius," but a nineteenth-century equivalent of Catullus' ridicule of the toothy Egnatius?

Although lacking Horace's spirit of comedy, Landor gives an occasional echo of him, as in the delightful piece of doggerel inviting Alfred Tennyson to share his haunch of venison. Whether Tennyson did or not, there were numerous others to share Landor's Chaucer and his claret. In another poem he deplores the fact that Time has turned the tables and seized his forelock. Something of Horace's tone may be found in this epigram on man's rôles on the stage of life:

But when we play the fool, how wide
The theater expands; beside,
How long the audience sits before us!
How many prompters! what a chorus!

Sappho appealed strongly to Landor, who attributed a number of the verses in *Pericles and Aspasia* to her, but who was too romantic to leave her love for Phaon unrequited. Whereas she addressed Hesperus: "Evening, thou that bringest all that bright morning scattered; thou bringest the sheep, the goat, the child back to her mother," he has

her thank the star Hesperus melodiously: "Thou seemest, star of love, to throb with light." The fragment: "Sweet mother, I cannot weave my web, broken as I am by longing for a boy, at soft Aphrodite's will," evidently inspired the delicate lyric, "Mother, I cannot mind my wheel," with the wistful conclusion that is wholly Landor's:

He always said my eyes were blue,
And often swore my lips were sweet.

Another of his favorites was Lucian. Landor's dialogue between Alexander and the Priest of Hammon, in which the shrewd Egyptian reduces Alexander's claims to be a demi-god to absurdity by the sardonic suggestion that he marry another child of Hammon — a pedigreed snake, is surely worthy of some of the *Dialogues of the Dead*. Possibly Landor thought of Lucian also when he wrote *Europa and Her Mother*: in his little dialogue, the two discuss a white bull, which Europa wants to deck with flowers. The mother hopes that the girl will be wooed by a god; but Europa, who thinks that Jove has deluded too many, has no wish to become a star or a flower. When the bull carries Europa off, the mother is in some consternation, although Europa can swim, but concludes with a practical worry: "And that new scarf! the spray will ruin it!" There may also be a suggestion in *To a Lady Archer* of Lucian's dialogue in which Cupid complains that he cannot prevail against Diana, who is too preoccupied with the chase (although that other archer, Apollo, has been shot often enough!). In Landor's poem Diana refuses to let Cupid use her bow but lends it to the lady. In vain Cupid tries his own bow and arrow against her:

Mother, we may as well be gone;
No shaft of mine can strike
That figure there, so like thy own,
That heart there, so unlike.

Frequently he drew upon Ovid's mythology, and he was influenced by his style but always revised his material. He softens Niobe's defiance and pride

in order to make her a more pathetic figure. She wonders that Artemis should have struck down girls who possessed a beauty like her own—her gift, indeed; and if Niobe has compared them to the goddess herself in purity, what mother would not say the same thing? At last she blesses the silver bow

And that one arrow which atones for all.
Artemis thou at length art merciful:
My children will not hear the fatal twang.

The classical abhorrence of pride has yielded to romantic sympathy. Helen in *The Marriage of Helen and Menelaus* is a shy young maiden of the type that Landor admired. At times his metamorphoses are as amazing as any in Ovid.

Vergil's account of Orpheus rather than Ovid's provided Landor with his *Descent of Orpheus*, a close and beautiful translation from the *Georgics*. His "Faint Shades and empty semblances of life" is particularly successful, and the ironic "Ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere manes" is translated as effectively as it is likely to be in English by the line "... Pardonable fault. If those below could pardon." Landor's version ends with the comparison of Orpheus to Philomela:

So Philomela mid the poplar shade
Bemoans her captive brood: the cruel hind
Saw them unplumed and took them: but all
night
Grieves she, and sitting on the bough, runs
o'er
Her wretched tale, and fills the woods with
woe.

It is a beautiful conclusion, but it seems to leave the poem rather unfinished since it does not return the reader's attention to Orpheus; and since Vergil, instead of ending the story here, uses the nightingale to link the legendary lovers with the pastoral setting in which their story is told and returns to the death of Orpheus, with the river-banks echoing the name of Eurydice. Why Landor ended it where he did is uncertain: perhaps he did not care to relate how Orpheus' severed

head called three times upon Eurydice; but more likely he was influenced by Ovid, who ends with Orpheus' grief, leaving his death and reunion for another story.

Many of the slighter though charming *Hellenics* seem more Hellenistic than Hellenic with their emphasis on love and decorative pastoral landscapes. As Elizabeth Nitchie has observed, although they are not directly based on any models, "the spirit of them is that of the idyllic charm which breathes from the poetry of Theocritus, Moschus, and Bion."⁶ Of this group, the most exquisite is *The Hamadryad*. Landor himself acknowledged his debt to Theocritus here. Possibly his *Hamadryad* had also studied Ovid's arts of love, for when Rhaicos wept to see her, she was often invisible:

To play at love, she knew,
Stopping its breathings when it breathes
most soft,
Is sweeter than to play on any pipe.
She played on his: she fed upon his sighs.

Landor admits that not just the grandeur of the classics inspired him:

Greece with calm eyes I see,
Her pure white marbles have not blinded
me,
But breathe on me the love
Of earthly things as bright as things above:
There is (where is there not?)
In her fair regions many a desert spot;
Neither is Dircè clear,
Nor is Ilissus full throughout the year.⁷

Grandeur and dignity of characterization, however, are by no means lacking—witness the speech of Hippolyta:

Am I a child? Give me my own,
And keep for weaker heads thy diadems.
Thermodon I shall never see again,
Brightest of rivers.

Of the classical forms, other than the dialogue, that influenced Landor, the most interesting is the epigram—the classical epigram, carved on stone, in Landor's words "those carvings, as it were, on ivory or on gems, which are modestly called epigrams by the Greeks," and certainly not "those ridic-

ulous quibbles which the English call epigrams." In addition to the epitaph for Southey and the love poem *The Grateful Heart*, there is the following tricolon to illustrate the Greek type:

Joy is the blossom, sorrow is the fruit,
Of human life; and worms are at the root.

Landor could not resist a few of the English type, however: he compares Byron to Prometheus:

Be petty larcenies forgiven;
The fire he stole was not from heaven!

One of his best is the epigrammatic little dialogue, *Quarrel*:

Work on marble shall not be,
Lady fair, the work for me:
For which reason, you and I
May together say good-bye,

to which the lady replies:

Say of marble what you will,
Work on sand is vainer still:
For which reason I and you
Very wisely say adieu.

In conclusion it should be noted that Landor's debt to the classics did not prevent his sharing the interests of the romantic period, looking back idealistically not just to the classical past but also to remote ages in Spain and Iceland, for example, and emphasizing the romantic aspects of mythology. The term *classical* has been used in this paper in several senses, although it has chiefly referred to spirit or technique; Landor himself used it in various ways but thought it primarily applicable to form. Regarding his own writings as classical, he admits:

The Faeries never tempted me away
From higher fountains and severer shades;
and he readily admonishes the youth
Ready to seize all nature at one grasp,
To mingle earth, sea, sky, woods, cataracts,
And make all nations think and speak alike.
Like Matthew Arnold, he felt that a classical treatment could be given to a subject from a different culture:

The classical like the heroick age
Is past; but Poetry may reassume
That glorious name with Tartar and with
Turk . . .

And not with Roman and with Greek alone.
The name is graven on the workmanship.⁸

Thus Mrs. Browning has justly called Landor "of all living writers the most classical because the freest from mere classicism."⁹ Much of his writing is "work on marble."

ANN GOSSMAN

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NOTES

¹ "Why do I praise a peach . . ." *Works*, ed. Stephen Wheeler (London, 1936), XV, 227.

² "Birth of Poesy," *Works*, XVI, 247.

³ George Saintsbury, *A History of Nineteenth Century English Literature* (New York, 1913), p. 104.

⁴ Sidney Colvin, *Landor* (London, 1884), 39.

⁵ Douglas Bush, *Mythology and the Romantic Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), 245.

⁶ Elizabeth Nitchie, "The Classicism of Walter Savage Landor," *The Classical Journal*, XIV (1918), 163.

⁷ "Why do I praise a peach . . ." *Works*, XV, 227-8.

⁸ "To the Author of *Festus* on the Classic and Romantic," *Works*, XV, 163-4.

⁹ As cited by Edward Dowden, *Studies in Literature 1789-1877* (London, 1909), 179.

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We See . . . By the Papers

Edited by John F. Latimer

IT IS NO ADVERSE CRITICISM of the editor of this column to say that he has been, to some extent, making bricks without straw; that he hasn't the resources of a clipping-bureau, that he is dependent on our readers for help in making the column geographically and otherwise representative. The co-operation of a few like the faithful and alert Col. Brady is much appreciated; but it is unfair to expect Professor Latimer to gather most of this material himself. Please send in Classical items with all data; publication, date, writer if a story is signed. [Ed.]

A MYTH TOO FREQUENT

The Russians are not the only ones who use Greek literature or mythology to point a moral. In the feature story on John Foster Dulles as the "Man of the Year," (Jan. 3, 1955) *TIME* gives a good example of his technique. At a conference in West Berlin last February, when it became clear that the Russians were stalling again on the Austrian peace treaty, Dulles spoke as follows:

For about 2,000 years there has been a figure in mythology which symbolizes tragic futility. That was Sisyphus, who, according to the Greek story, was given the task of rolling a great stone up to the top of a hill. Each time when, after great struggle and sweating, the stone was just at the brow of the hill, some evil force manifested itself and pushed the stone down. So Sisyphus had to start his task over again. I suspect that for the next 2,000 years the story of Sisyphus will be forgotten, when generation after generation is told the tragic story of the Austrian state treaty. We have repeatedly been almost at the point of concluding the Austrian treaty, and always some evil force manifests itself and pushes the treaty back again.

An analysis of the implied comparison shows that the Austrian treaty is the stone, America and her allies, Sisyphus, and Russia, the evil force. But in the original story, as every classical student knows, there is no "evil force". It was Zeus who imposed the penalty on Sisyphus as punishment in hell for his misdeeds on earth. Russia then really corresponds to Zeus. This is a kind of *reductio ad absurdum* in reverse and surely not at all what Mr. Dulles intended.

With all due respect it is suggested that Mr. Dulles leave mythology to the Russians or put a classical scholar on his staff. The former would be cheaper—and perhaps wiser.

ERRATA

(operi longo fas est obrepere somnum)

In the November number, in the quotation from Demosthenes (p. 78), 'Olympus' appears for 'Olynthus'. By the same token, David Robinson has not tunneled through Mt. Olympus (as yet). To clear up all misconceptions, let us add that the Olympian Games were not held there, not even the ski jump (for which Greek type is not available here). In the first column on the same page, Antoninus Pius becomes of course 'Antonius'.

In the February, next to the last paragraph of the first column on p. 221, read 'Athens' for the second occurrence of 'Cyrene'. It is easier to say the opposite of what one means by inadvertence than to be half wrong; and Shorey had a considerable collection of such slips in the works of famous writers other than McCartney. I let *de rigueur* get by myself for *de rigueur* in the same issue; and I'm not optimistic enough to assume that this list of errata is by any means exhaustive.

If anyone has a surplus copy of the October '54 or November '53 issues, any number of these will be gratefully received if sent to Secretary Hough.

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NOTES

Contributions to this department in the form of brief objective notes should be sent direct to the editor, Oscar E. Nybakken, State University of Iowa, 124 Schaeffer Hall, Iowa City, Iowa.

WHILE MUCH GOOD material has been submitted for this department, Professor Nybakken and I are in agreement, that we are tending away from the original purpose of such a column — to add variety and interest by brief items. Perhaps when syntax used to be dominant, this was easier to do. But contributions of one or two typed pages, as printed a page or a column or less, are decidedly in order. Mr. Nybakken has had to send on some pieces offered him, quite too long, for possible use elsewhere in the *Journal*. Consider whether you have an interpretation of one passage to suggest, for instance, something which would not make an article but might be fresh and arresting. Remember Gildersleeve's "Brief Mention," though you had better not be as allusive and cryptic as that great scholar sometime was. [Ed.]

THE CATHARSIS OF PITY AND FEAR

IT IS POSSIBLE to escape certain difficulties in interpreting Aristotle's famous statement concerning catharsis (*Poetics* 1449b.27) by taking the genitive *ton toiouton pathematon* as subjective, rather than as objective. This construction gives the meaning merely that tragedy through pity and fear accomplishes the catharsis *that pity and fear produce*, rather than a catharsis which in some sense *acts upon* such emotions. The implication is that the usual result of feeling pity and fear in the experiences of life is a catharsis. Drama, through its imitation of life, produces the same effect. Although this is an extremely simple solution, and perhaps because it is too simple, I have not seen it proposed by anyone. In view of the enormous amount of literature on this disputed passage, however, one must suppose that this theory has had its advocates. I offer the following arguments in its support.

First, if Aristotle had wished to say that catharsis *acts upon* pity and fear and such emotions, would it not have

been simpler to write *kathairousa ta toiauta pathemata*? Nothing would seem to be gained in that case, and clarity would be lost, by the circumlocution *perainousa ten ton toiouton pathematon katharsin*. On the other hand, if the intention was to say that pity and fear produce a catharsis characteristic of these emotions, he has stated that as briefly as possible.

Second, if the genitive is objective, one must admit that pity and fear are changed in some way, either being removed completely, or being transformed or "purified." The variations on this theme are well summarized by Ingram Bywater, *inter alios*, (*Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, Oxford, pp. 152-161), and need not be reviewed here. In every case a basic contradiction appears. Pity and fear should be effective precisely because they are aroused and remain, not because they are removed or changed. And, a further objection, can we believe that tragedy's function is merely to change these emotions, rather than to bring about an adjustment to all of life?

In the third place, if the genitive is subjective, no attempted or implied definition of catharsis by Aristotle is involved; and this is in harmony with his statement in the *Politics* (1341b.39) that he is using the term there without elaboration (*haplos*), but that on another occasion he will be more explicit. The passage at issue in the *Poetics* neither claims to be, nor is adequate as, the promised definition, in spite of universal determination to make it serve. In the passage of the *Politics* Aristotle compares the excitement induced by music to that aroused by pity and fear (the very emotions which are mentioned in the *Poetics*) and by religious enthusiasm; and he declares that all the affected persons experience

a kind of catharsis and pleasant relief. Aristotle does not say in either the *Politics* or the *Poetics* that the catharsis acts upon the emotions cited, but by means of them.

Although we cannot find in Aristotle's own words any definition of catharsis, we are entitled, of course, to speculate concerning what he may have meant by the term. Since catharsis in general usage frequently refers to a cleansing, either in a medical way or in a spiritual sense (i.e. from guilt), it seems reasonable to apply this meaning also to the effect produced by tragedy. Aristotle describes in the *Poetics* the development of the plot from the error (*hamartia*) of the tragic hero, to recognition (a transition from ignorance to knowledge), and reversal of fortune (*peripeteia*), which he considers the most persuasive elements of tragedy (1450a.33). These, he says, arouse pity and fear (1452a.38), and he defines tragedy as the imitation of this kind of action. Moreover, he specifies that pity is an emotion felt for a person in undeserved misfortune, and that fear is felt by the spectator for a man like himself. In short, the spectator identifies himself with the tragic hero.

It is possible, therefore, to understand the resulting catharsis as the cleansing in the spectator of his own guilt or potential error, of which his pity and fear for the hero have made him aware. The relief or pleasure which it is the poet's task to produce by pity and fear through the imitation of actions (1453b.10) may be summarized as the consciousness of having escaped personal tragedy. By experiencing pity and fear, the spectator has been reminded of his own tendency to error, whether his fault be that of the hero or another, and he has been restored to moral health.

For example, the error of Oedipus, which may be described as the excessive self-confidence of a self-made man ("I am the child of Fortune," etc., Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.* 1080ff.) brings him through suffering to recognition of

his true nature, as a person who has unsuspected relationships and obligations, and to calamity. Because Oedipus' suffering is greater than deserved, we, the spectators, feel pity, and recognize with fear our own inclination to exaggerated self-esteem. By the catharsis generated by these emotions we regain the healthy conviction that "no man lives unto himself."

ROBERT E. LANE

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MEDEA, ARIADNE, AND DIDO

READERS OF THE *Aeneid* have long recognized that Dido has parallels in ancient literature, notably Medea and Ariadne. The Medea fashioned by Euripides and Apollonius of Rhodes and the Ariadne of Catullus' *epyllion* had impressed themselves deeply upon Vergil's consciousness, and he evokes memories of them in his own work through his portrayal of Dido. One of his devices for calling the other mythological heroines to mind is his echoing of lines spoken, either by themselves or by others, in reference to the hopeless state of their love. For instance, at the beginning of Euripides' tragedy the nurse soliloquizes: "Would that the ship, the Argo, had not made its winged course to the land of the Colchians through the dark-blue Symplegades." Likewise Ariadne, abandoned by Theseus on an Aegean island, addresses the king of the gods in these bitter but futile words (64, 171-72):

Iuppiter omnipotens, utinam ne tempore primo
Gnosia Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes.

Vergil's adaptation of these lines is pronounced by Dido in her last stages of desperation, when she is on the verge of suicide. Her words are full of a characteristically Vergilian pathos as she laments (4, 657-58)¹:

Felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum
numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae.

Such examples, including more striking verbal parallels, could be multiplied at

length, but to no great advantage. The significant point is that Vergil is deliberately recalling to his readers the situations of Medea and Ariadne, which are analogous in important respects to Dido's sad plight. Vergil is using familiar verses and turns of phrase to intensify the emotional response of his readers by causing them to feel again for Dido what they have already learned to feel for Medea and Ariadne. The similar words are meant to produce similar reactions. Moreover, by identifying Dido with other heroines hapless in love, Vergil is saying, by implication, that he is portraying a universal experience in human affairs, not a wholly particular and unique occurrence. Dido is not merely the queen of Carthage deserted by Trojan Aeneas, but rather any woman disappointed and cheated by the man she loves, a man upon whose gratitude and affections she has just claims.

Not satisfied with the exclusively typical, however, Vergil rescues Dido from the loss of personality which would have resulted from too complete identification with Medea or Ariadne. Dido remains, in part, a distinctive individual, a person quite incapable of Medea's monstrous actions. One subtle hint of Vergil's intention may be inferred from the part where Dido is confessing her love for Aeneas to her sister. Dido's words are (20-23):

Anna, fatebor enim, miseri post fata Sychaei
coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede penates,
solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem
impulit.

The words *sparsos fraterna caede* bring to mind the passage in which Catullus' Ariadne speaks of her father as *respersum fraterna caede* (181). Catullus' expression is somewhat grotesque, for the brother to whom Ariadne alludes is the Minotaur, in effecting whose death she has conspired with Theseus. Catullus is deliberately suggesting a parallel here with the case of Medea, who had, in a sense, bespattered her father with her brother's blood. That is, she had slain

her brother in order to slow down her father's pursuit of Jason and herself. Hence Catullus' Ariadne too, in order to recall Medea, speaks of having killed her brother. In the *Aeneid*, however, the *fraterna* is used in a subjective rather than an objective sense. In other words, Dido is referring to a murder committed by her brother, not to an act of violence which she has perpetrated against him. To the reader of the *Aeneid* who is acquainted with the tale of Medea's fratricide and with Catullus' epyllion, a contrast between Dido and the others would here be evident. Unlike them, she has suffered wrong without having inflicted any upon others. The very likeness of the words uttered by Dido and Ariadne here tends to emphasize an essential difference of their meaning in their contexts. Medea and Ariadne bear a serious guilt; Dido is altogether innocent of bloodshed. Even at the end of her life, when rational conduct has given way to Dionysiac frenzy, she suppresses and repudiates thoughts of violence against others (596).² She realizes that she has had the power to perform deeds as unspeakable as Medea's (600-02), but she has never had a taste for them. Her acts of destruction, unlike her words, can turn only against herself.

These few remarks about Dido's relationship to Medea and Ariadne are pertinent to the general problem of verbal echoes and reminiscences, which are numerous in Latin poetry, not least in Vergil. We have noted that the poet can hope to enhance his emotional effect by letting well-known words suggest to his readers other well-known situations. Occasionally, on the other hand, the verbal similarity serves the poet's purpose in a negative way by pointing up significant contrasts.³

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NOTES

¹ All Vergilian references are to Book Four of the *Aeneid*.

² Vergil emphasizes the victory of the Dionysiac element over Dido when she has heard of Aeneas' imminent departure. In addition to a powerful

simile explicitly likening her to a Maenad (300-03), he suggests that her state resembles Pentheus' condition when that unfortunate man was helplessly under the spell of Dionysus (469-70). Moreover, the frequent occurrence of words like *furor* indicates the triumph of mad violence (which Dionysiac religion apparently represents for Vergil) over reason. In this connection, I wonder whether one may find a partial explanation for Bacchus' appearance in Catullus' *epyllion*. Can Catullus be trying to tell us that Ariadne, in her emotional state, is wholly possessed by Dionysus? In other words, does the traditional marriage of Dionysus and Ariadne symbolize for Catullus the absolute mastery of violence and the irrational over the distraught woman, frustrated in love? Such an interpretation, if not too strained, would provide a poetic meaning in the *epyllion* for the god, whose function there is rather difficult to determine.

³ The preceding paragraphs speak only of conscious poetic echoes and reminiscences. For an excellent discussion of unconscious borrowing from other poets, see Chapter Three, "Tradition and Poetry," in W. F. Jackson Knight's *Roman Vergil* (London, 1944).

SOME NOTES ON KNAPP'S AENEID

THOSE TEACHERS, and there are still many, who use Professor Charles E. Knapp's school edition for the teaching of Vergil *Aen.* 1-6,¹ may be interested in the following observations on two passages which are handled in a misleading fashion therein.

At *Aen.* 2. 332, Knapp, apparently following Kloucek,² reads *illi* as the second word of the line. The MSS and all editors consulted by the present writer,³ except Knapp, are unanimous in reading *alii*, which, to be sure, is the word required by the sense. The whole passage should read:

Portis alii bipotentibus adsunt,
milia quot magnis umquam veneri Mycenis;
obsidere alii telis angusta viarum
oppositis (*Aen.* 2.330-3).

The presence of *alii* in 330 clearly demands a second *alii* to complete the correlation, as does the entire context. The Greeks are thus neatly divided into two groups: one, which is at the gates; the other, which keeps watch over the streets. Knapp apparently felt that all was not well with the text as he had read it, for he punctuates with a colon after *Mycenis*. Such heavy punctuation and the reading *illi* make all that follows hard to understand and thus needlessly complicate an easy passage.

At *Aen.* 2.333-4, the student will do well to follow Vergil and forget Knapp's note. The lines are:

. . . stat ferri acies mucrone corusco
stricta, parata necl.

Knapp erroneously translates: "a battle-line of steel stands firm set, of steel, gleaming-pointed, unsheathed." The fact is, however, that *acies* here, as frequently, has its original meaning of "the sharp edge or point" (Harper) of a weapon, not its figurative or derived meaning of "battle-line."⁴ The line read thus offers none of the imagined difficulties which led Professor Knapp (note on *Aen.* 2.333-4) to regard it as "a highly poetic expression, made more intricate by the fact that . . ." etc.

One additional passage might bear comment, although the silence of editors and commentators thereon would seem to indicate that, in their opinion, the student should have no difficulty with it. Speaking of his awakening on the last night of Troy, Aeneas says (*Aen.* 2. 302-8):

Excutor somno, et summi fastigia tecti
ascensu supero, atque arrectis auribus asto,
in segetem veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris
incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens
sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores,
praecipitesque trahit silvas, stupet inscius alto
accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor.

It has been at least one teacher's experience that students seem frequently to connect *alto* . . . *saxi de vertice* with *sonitum*, thereby implying that the "sound" of the torrent reaches the shepherd's ears "from the high top of a rock" above him. However, it is clear from the order of words and from the context (302-3) that the shepherd has found a refuge from the flood on "the high top of a rock" and stands there dumbfounded at the roar of the waters beneath him. That this is the only correct interpretation can be shown to the student by pointing out the neat grouping of *stupet inscius alto/accipiens* (307-8), which, by means of *alto*, binds *stupet* and *accipiens* to *saxi de vertice*. Likewise, as Knapp essays to point out (note on 307-8) in language perhaps too

cryptic for the average student, the simile corresponds exactly in detail to the principal statement which it illustrates (302-3). Just as Aeneas climbs to the rooftops (*summi . . . supero*) and stands there with attentive ears (*arrectis . . . asto*), so the shepherd, hearing "from the high top of a rock" the sound of the torrent (*Alto . . . vertice*), is struck dumb with wonderment (*stupet inscius*). The simile reverses the order of the principal statement in chiasmic fashion. But perhaps the most effective way to prove to the student that *alto . . . saxi de vertice* refers to the place where the shepherd stands and not to the source of the sound he hears is this: any flood that *sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boum-que labores, praecipitesque trahit silvas* would do the same to the shepherd. He would have to have climbed up on the rock or we should have had no subject for the verb *stupet*!

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NOTES

¹The *Aeneid* of Vergil Books I-VI and *The Metamorphoses* of Ovid Selections, (New York, 1928).

²See the apparatus criticus on Aen. 2.332 in F. A. Hirtzel, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, (Oxford, 1900).

³Editions consulted were those of Conington, Papillon and Haigh, Hirtzel, Bennett, Sidgwick, Mackail, Ianell, Pharr, Page and Sabbadini.

⁴Cf. T. L. Papillon and A. E. Haigh, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, (Oxford, 1892), C. E. Bennett, *Virgil's Aeneid*, (New York, 1904), and J. W. Mackail, *The Aeneid*, (Oxford, 1930), notes ad loc. Only Sidgwick (A. Sidgwick, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, II [Cambridge, 1927], note ad loc.) translates *acies* with Knapp.

THE KNAPP AND I

Years ago I sent to CW a note on Aen. 4.419. Knapp printed it but, after his manner, denied practically everything in it by his notes. My wicked friends have compared my interpolations to his. Now I cannot keep pace with the redoubtable Knapp, as he would have been the first to agree. Even so, as Socrates evoked the ghost of Protagoras in the *Theaetetus* to defend the latter's famous dictum, let me for the moment resort to necromancy and speak as his spirit. (I doubt that Avery means to imply that Knapp's edition is not in general dependable.)

Mr. Avery is probably right in following the MS reading; add Ribbeck to those he

cites as doing so. But when he says that the first *alii* "demands a second *alii* to complete the correlation," he may be going too far. Forbiger, after Wagner, says: "*hic non sibi opponi verba alii . . . alii, sed priores tantum alios iis qui ex equo prodierint opponi; hisque alteros alios non tam oppositos quam eorum numero comprehensos esse.*" Frieze regarded the first *alii* as others than those from the horse, and the second *alii* as another part of the main body from the ships. Knapp, I suppose, took the first *alii* of those at the gates, and *alii* (the former) as the horse's brood doing the street fighting. This may be wrong (and there seems no occasion for the emendation), but it is not in itself unreasonable. By 334 at least, we are back at the gates. The matter is not made any easier by Panthus' implication, in his excitement, that no Greeks have been killed in ten years of fighting.

As to *ferri acies*, there undoubtedly was a battle-line, quite different from the clear case of Aen. 6.291. Is Knapp so far out in taking *acies* in the Caesarian sense?

Avery's third interpretation is further supported by *Iliad* 4.452-6, of which the passage is presumably an imitation. There the shepherd is afar and on a mountain.

[Ed.]

TENNYSON AND CATULLUS

AMONG TENNYSON's "Experiments in Quantity" is a short poem done in a meter known as the Hendecasyllabic. It is a meter used by the ancients for biting and sarcastic criticism, which was often vulgar, and was always personal.* Catullus uses this meter, and even the word *hendecasyllables*, in a poem numbered XLII in the Oxford Classical Text; and if Tennyson, in his verse, had not told us that it was "All composed in a meter of Catullus", we could have deduced it from this and from the fact that Tennyson was extremely fond of Catullus.

Now we know that Tennyson hated Horace for years, as a result of having been forced to read him in his school-days (a fate he dreaded for his own work). This may have had something to do with making him a lover of Catullus. But whatever the reasons for the many Catullan influences in his poems,

the fact remains that this liking, and this poem that so exemplifies it, are so much at variance with what we usually consider to be Victorian; so far removed from Lord Tennyson, the good gray poet, poet laureate of the British Empire, and a man renowned for delicacy, virtue, and purity; so different from his own ideal conception of a man, King Arthur, that he who reads Tennyson's poem with all its Catullan echoes sounding in his memory at the same time, will be successively shocked, stunned, and delighted. Tennyson's poem runs:

O you chorus of indolent reviewers,
Irresponsible, indolent reviewers,
Look, I came to the test, a tiny poem
All composed in a metre of Catullus,
All in quantity, careful of my motion,
Like the skater on ice that hardly bears him,
Lest I fall unawares before the people,
Waking laughter in indolent reviewers.
Should I flounder awhile without a tumble
Thro' this metrification of Catullus,
They should speak to me not without a
welcome,

All that chorus of indolent reviewers.
Hard, hard, hard is it, only not to tumble,
So fantastical is the dainty metre.
Wherefore slight me not wholly, nor believe
me

Too presumptuous, indolent reviewers.
O blatant magazines, regard me rather—
Since I blush to belaud myself a moment—
As some rare little rose, a piece of inmost
Horticultural art, or half coquette-like
Maiden, not to be greeted unbenignly.

Now one of Tennyson's delights was to play with meter. He loved to invent new meters, rhyme schemes, and stanza forms; and, in fact, thought he had in "In Memoriam". As his metrical originality in the poems "The Daisy" and "To Rev. F. D. Maurice" was a pride to him, so his first comment on the young Swinburne's poetry was to say that he envied him his metrical invention. A case could be made that this hendecasyllabic poem is no more than a reflection of that interest. But then we must answer, why the choice of subject matter? Tennyson's experience with critics was a long bitter one, and though he was gener-

ally reluctant to strike back, at least in print, he did once, when he attacked Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton in *Punch*. Yet who can think that a man of Tennyson's strength (and we have, in his son's Memoir, many testimonies of his great physical prowess), of his wit and pride, would turn his other cheek continually to the carping, petty criticisms of the magazine reviewers of the poems which he himself disliked to print in magazines? A man has only two cheeks. I would suggest that Tennyson, in his *hendecasyllabics*, was doing several things at once, as great poets usually are: experimenting with classic meters in English; talking about how difficult this sort of thing was; defying the critics to find a flaw in his flawless execution; joking about his own use of girl-images as symbols of himself, and of critical misunderstanding of them, in his poems; and, last, reminding the critics by his choice of meter and his references to Catullus of the two poems quoted above. Could they have missed his purpose? Perhaps a few, who did not know their Catullus well. But Tennyson's friends would have seen it, and the private effect of the joke would have been delightful to all of them.

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* Catullus uses this metre, however, also for his dedication to Cornelius Nepos and his tender sparrow-poems to his beloved mistress—to mention no others. Pliny in a letter to Suetonius (5.10) writes that, if his hendecasyllables cannot lure from the historian by their blandishments what he wants, he will wrench this from him angrily by choliambics—a meter which Catullus of course uses for satirical purposes. From considerations of space (*inter alia*), we are not printing Catullus 42 and 48 which were in the author's copy as prototypes of a certain virulence in Tennyson's verses; 12 and 14 (the former of which actually threatens hendecasyllabics) seem much closer to the tone of Tennyson. [Ed.]

There to me thro' all the groves of olives in the
summer glow,
There beneath the Roman ruin where the purple
flowers grow,
Came that 'Ave atque Vale' of the Poet's hopeless
woe,
Tenderest of Roman poets nineteen hundred years
ago.

Tennyson

Seneca, Exponent of Humanitarianism

WHAT ESPECIALLY ATTRACTS OUR attention in the prose writings of Seneca is his view of humanity—a deep sympathy with his fellow men. His noble precepts of humanitarianism are among the loftiest and purest utterances to be found in the literary wealth of any age. They illustrate how far human thought and sympathy have progressed in the mind of Seneca.

Seneca frequently insists that every man is born into two communities—the Cosmopolis, the great society of gods and men, wide as the courses of the sun, and his native city, the Athens or Carthage to which he is assigned by the accident of birth.¹ The wise man will esteem this great community, to which all men belong, far above any particular city in which he was born.² In this great citizenship of the world all distinctions of race, nationality, and class are to be subordinated to the sense of kinship and brotherhood. If human society has for its basis the identity of reason in individuals,³ we have no right to limit this society to a single nation, or to feel ourselves more nearly related to some men than to others. All men, apart from what they have made themselves by their own efforts, are equally near, since all equally participate in reason. We are all, bond or free, ruler or subject, citizens of a universal commonwealth; for one and the same nature has fashioned us all from the same elements for the same destiny.⁴ All human beings are capable of attaining to virtue⁵ and as such are natural born citizens of the Cosmopolis.

From this belief in the unity of the human race comes the desire of men to aid and respect each other. In the name of this principle, Seneca absolutely condemns war. He asks why we check manslaughter and individual murders, while we honor the crime of slaughtering whole peoples.⁶ Should crimes receive a different name because they

have been committed by generals in uniform? Is not man, the gentlest class of being, ashamed to find pleasure in the blood of others?⁷

The same principle leads Seneca to denounce boldly the butchery of the gladiatorial shows and the ferocity with which criminals were exposed to the wild beasts while the audience looked on at the cruel sport. He warns his friend Lucilius against the demoralizing influence of such a scene reacting as it must upon the character and temper. "Sed latrocinium fecit aliquis, occidit hominem." Quid ergo? Quia occidit ille, meruit ut hoc pateretur; tu quid meruisti miser, ut hoc spectes?"⁸ And he proclaims that lofty principle that man must be an object of reverence in the eyes of man, "Homo res sacra homini" and must not be killed for jest and sport.⁹

A deep sentiment, therefore, of love for mankind reigns throughout the philosophical works of Seneca. It is further illustrated by the broad and humane view with which he regarded slaves. He openly recognizes their moral rights. He discusses in full the question whether a slave can confer a benefit on his master. He who denies that he can, says Seneca, is ignorant of the rights of man.

Refert enim, cuius animi sit, qui praestat, non cuius status. Nulli praeclusa virtus est; omnibus patet, omnes admittit, omnes invitat, et ingenuos et libertinos et servos et reges et exules; non eligit domum nec censum, nudo homine contenta est.¹⁰

He earnestly repudiates the base idea that a slave's service, however lavish, is merely a duty to his master; which, as it springs from constraint, is undeserving of gratitude.¹¹ On the same principle, a subject cannot confer a benefit on a king, a soldier on his general.¹² There is a limit beyond which power cannot command obedience. There is a difference between cringing

compliance and noble self-sacrifice.¹³ The slave has often endured wounds and death to save his master's life in battle.¹⁴ He has often suffered the last extremity of torture rather than betray his master's secrets.¹⁵

Only the body of a slave belongs to his lord; his mind belongs to himself.¹⁶ In his soul the slave is his master's equal. He is capable of equal virtue and equal culture. The condition, Seneca claims, in which a man is born is not the man himself. After defining the upright, great, and good soul as a god dwelling in the human body, he says:

Hic animus tam in equitem Romanum quam in libertinum, quam in servum potest cadere. Quid est enim eques Romanus aut libertinus aut servus? Nomina ex ambitione aut ex iniuria nata.¹⁷

In *Epistle XLVII* Seneca discusses the treatment of slaves. He describes with contempt the haughty inhumanity of many a wealthy master surrounded by a multitude of cowering menials in whom he saw, according to the Roman proverb "as many enemies as slaves."¹⁸ Not so, says Seneca. It is his own fault if he makes them such. They will be his friends if he treats them kindly and associates with them on easy terms, remembering that they too are men made of flesh and blood like he himself.

'Servi sunt.' Immo homines. 'Servi sunt.' Immo contubernales. 'Servi sunt.' Immo humiles amici. 'Servi sunt.' Immo conservi, si cogitaveris tantundem in utrosque licere fortunae. . .¹⁹ Vis tu cogitare istum, quem servum tuum vocas, ex isdem seminibus ortum eodem frui caelo, aequae spirare, aequae vivere, aequae mori!²⁰ Vive cum servo clementer, comiter quoque, et in sermonem illum admitte et in consilium et in convictum. . .²¹ Quidam cenent tecum, quia digni sunt, quidam, ut sint. . .²² Non est, mi Lucili, quod amicum tantum in foro et in curia quaeras; si diligenter adtenderis, et domi invenies. Quemadmodum stultus est, qui equum empturus non ipsum inspicit, sed stratum eius ac frenos, sic stultissimus est, qui hominem aut ex veste aut ex condicione, quae vestis modo nobis circumdata est, aestimat.²³

We see, therefore, that the creed of Seneca is both a levelling and a lofty creed. It finds the only nobility or claim to rank in higher capacity for virtue.²⁴ It embraces in its universal commonwealth, all human souls, bond or free, male or female, however they may be classed by accident or fortune.²⁵

The human appeal of the prose writings of Seneca is intensified by his noble precepts on friendship²⁶ and kindness.²⁷

Seneca teaches us that it is well to consider deeply before choosing a friend but afterwards to give him implicit trust.²⁸ He protests against the sordid view of friendship, which would make the strength of the tie depend upon the sense of profit from a friend's company or help, as though we desired to find a friend only to sit by our bedside when we are ill, or to come to our aid when in poverty or prison.²⁹ Rather, it is the expression of a natural instinct and not a calculation of self-interest. "In quid amicum paro? Ut habeam pro quo mori possim, ut habeam quem in exilium sequar, cuius me morti opponam et impendam."³⁰ The best philtre or love charm to provoke affection is to feel love oneself.³¹ In the companionship of well-chosen friends there grows up a "sensus communis," which is an instinctive contact with humanity as a whole, making each man a partner in the thoughts and needs of all around him.³²

Everywhere Seneca recommends an indefatigable generosity and kindness towards all. "Praecipiemus, ut naufrago manum porrigat, erranti viam monstret, cum esuriente panem suum dividat."³³ Man should share his wealth with those in need. He must regard it as given him in trust; he is only the steward of it.³⁴ Giving should be without hesitation and as a delight.³⁵ The good man will not refuse a kindness even to an enemy who is in want³⁶ and in giving money to the needy he will imply by his manner that he is only paying what the other is entitled to as his fellow man.³⁷ Man, whatever

else he may be, is the object of our solicitude simply as being man.³⁸

No one has perhaps ever insisted so powerfully on the obligation to live for others, on the duty of love, mercy, and forgiveness as Seneca has done. Again and again he reminds us that no one can live entirely for himself.³⁹ Man is born for social union, which is cemented by concord, kindness, and love,⁴⁰ and he who shows anger, selfishness, or cruelty to his fellows cuts at the root of the ties of humanity and degrades himself to the level of the beast.⁴¹

Seneca expresses his true love for his fellow beings, teaching consideration and tact toward all, condemning anger and cruelty,⁴² commending clemency.⁴³ He treats of anger thoroughly in the three books *De Ira*. He discusses the nature of wrath and its causes, contending it is not "secundum naturam."

An secundum naturam sit manifestum erit, si hominem inspexerimus. Quo quid est mitius, dum in recto animi habitus est? Quid autem ira crudelius est? Quid homine aliorum amantius? Quid ira infestius? Homo in adiutorium mutuum genitus est, ira in exitium; hic congregari vult, illa discedere; hic prodesse, illa nocere; hic etiam ignotis succurrere, illa etiam carissimos petere . . . Ira, ut diximus, avida poenae est, cuius cupidinem inesse pacatissimo hominis pectore minime secundum eius naturam est.⁴⁴

He refutes every argument in defense of anger and draws this conclusion: "Nihil ergo in ira, ne cum videtur quidem vehemens et deos hominesque despiciens, magnum, nihil nobile est."⁴⁵ He reminds us that ungovernable rage is the one passion that seizes a nation as a whole and so leads to war.⁴⁶ He points out the evil effects of anger and suggests practical remedies. That it is a temporary madness has always been held by the wise;⁴⁷ and this is indicated by the appearance of the angry: the fierce expression, the restless hands, the altered color, the quick and more violent breathing, the gnashing teeth, the stamp of the foot;⁴⁸ also by the fact that children are especially

prone to anger even for frivolous causes.⁴⁹

To check anger the first necessity is time;⁵⁰ reflection will often show us that we have not been injured at all or not so much as we thought.⁵¹ Lastly it is necessary to know what is our weak point in order that we may especially guard it.⁵²

Cruelty, defined as a tendency to excess in punishment,⁵³ is, like anger, directly opposed to the virtue of clemency. In its extreme form it becomes a madness, when the slaying of a man is in itself a pleasure.⁵⁴ Punishment must be reserved for extreme cases and is always to be administered with calmness; it is felt more keenly when it comes from a benevolent person.⁵⁵ Persistent kindness wins over even bad men.⁵⁶

As a remedy for cruelty it is well to bear in mind the fact that we have all erred.⁵⁷ We constantly show the utmost severity to the faults of others, while we forget or ignore our own.⁵⁸ We are all more or less bad, and we should be gentle to one another.⁵⁹ The spectacle of greed and ingratitude should not harden us against our fellow men. Let us think how many a kindness done to us in early days—the tenderness of a nurse, a person's advice or aid in times of need—we have carelessly let slip from memory.⁶⁰ The vices concerning which we complain are often lurking in our own bosoms. Forgive that you may be forgiven.⁶¹ Overcome evil with good. Let us imitate the gods, who begin to give gifts to those who doubt of their existence and persevere in giving to the ungrateful.⁶²

Ingratus est: non mihi fecit iniuriam, sed sibi; ego beneficio meo, cum darem, usus sum. Nec ideo pigrius dabo, sed diligentius; quod in hoc perdidit, ab aliis recipiam. Sed huic ipsi beneficium dabo iterum et tamquam bonus agricola cura cultuque sterilitatem soli vincam; perit mihi beneficium, iste hominibus. Non est magni animi beneficium dare et perdere; hoc est magni animi perdere et dare.⁶³

Such are the noble tenets that are

found in the philosophy of Seneca. Those who see in his work solely a display of rhetoric and ingenuity ignore the many lofty sentiments and the eloquent series of great and memorable truths inspired by genuine feeling and a profound understanding of the human soul. The thoughts that emanated from the mind of this great philosopher are among the purest, most lofty and sublime that are known to man. It is his philosophical precepts that have appealed to the greatest men throughout the centuries and have won for him everlasting renown.

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NOTES

¹ *De Otio* 4.1: Duas res publicas animo complectamur, alteram magnam et vere publicam, qua dii atque homines continentur, in qua non ad hunc angulum respicimus aut ad illum, sed terminos civitatis nostrae cum sole metimur; alteram, cui nos adscriptis condicio nascendi. Haec aut Atheniensium erit aut Carthaginiensium, aut alterius alicuius urbis, quae non ad omnis pertinet homines sed ad certos. *Cl. Ep.* 68.2: Praeterea, cum sapienti rem publicam ipso dignam dedimus, id est mundum, non est extra rem publicam, etiam si recesserit, immo fortasse relicto uno angulo in maiora atque ampliora transit. See also my "The Extent and Range of the Ideas in Seneca's philosophy" (Doctor's dissertation, The University of North Carolina, to be published), Chapter II. G.10.a.2.a.a. Later references in parentheses are to this chapter.

² *De Tranq. An.* 4.4: Ideo magno animo nos non unius urbis moenibus clusimus, sed in totius orbis commercium emisimus patriamque nobis mundum professi sumus, ut liceret latiore virtuti campum dare.

³ *Ep.* 76.9-10. (F.2.h.)

⁴ *Ep.* 95.52: Membra sumus corporis magni. Natura nos cognatos edidit, cum ex isdem et in eadem gigneret.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 108.8: Omnibus enim natura fundamenta dedit semenque virtutum.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 95.30: Homicidia compescimus et singulas caedes; quod bella et occisurarum gentium gloriosum scelus?

⁷ *Ibid.*, 31: Non pudet homines, mitissimum genus, gaudere sanguine alterno et bella gerere. (I.3.h.2.)

⁸ *Ep.* 7.5. ⁹ *Ibid.*, 95.33. (I.1.e.6.b.1.b.3.)

¹⁰ *De Benef.* 3.18.2. ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 19.1.

¹² *Ibid.*, 18.3. ¹³ *Ibid.*, 20.2. ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.3. ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.2. Later references to whether a slave can give a benefit to his master see (G.10.a.2.gg.73.)

¹⁷ *De Benef.* 20.1: Errat, si quis existimat servitutem in totum homine descendere. Pars melior eius excepta est. Corpora obnoxia sunt et adscripta dominis; mens quidem sui iuris . . . corpus itaque est, quod domino fortuna tradidit; hoc emit, hoc vendit; interior illa pars mancipio dari non potest.

¹⁸ *Ep.* 31.11. (I.1.e.12.b.7.) ¹⁹ *Ep.* 47.5. ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1. ²¹ *Ibid.*, 10. ²² *Ibid.*, 13. ²³ *Ibid.*, 15. ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

²⁵ *De Benef.* 3.28.1: Eadem omnibus principia eademque origo; nemo altero nobilior, nisi qui rectius ingenium et artibus bonis aptius; *Ep.* 44.4-5: Platon ait neminem regem non ex servis

esse oriundum, neminem servum non ex regibus . . . Quis est generosus? Ad virtutem bene a natura compositus. (G.10.a.1.cc.)

²⁶ In the *Ad Marciam* 16.1 Seneca makes a serious appeal for the rights of women. He writes: Quis autem dixit naturam maligne cum mulierum ingenio egisse et virtutes illarum in artum retraxisse? Par illis, mihi crede, vigor, par ad honesta, libeat, facultas est, dolorem laboremque ex aequo, si consuevere, patiuntur.

²⁷ For complete references to friendship see (I.1.e.13.)

²⁸ For complete references to kindness see (G.10.a.2.ff.)

²⁹ *Ep.* 3.2: Post amicitiam credendum est, ante amicitiam iudicandum. Isti vere praepostero officia permiscunt, qui contra praecepta Theophrasti, cum amaverunt, iudicant, et non amant, cum iudicaverunt. Diu cogita, an tibi in amicitiam aliquis recipiendus sit. Cum placuerit fieri toto illum pectore admittite; tam audaciter cum illo loquere quam tecum.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.8. ³¹ *Ibid.*, 10. ³² *Ibid.*, 6: Hecaton ait: 'ego tibi monstrabo amatorum sine medicamento, sine herba, sine ulius veneficae carmine: Si vis amari, ama.'

³³ *Ibid.*, 5.4: Hoc primum philosophia promittit, sensum communem, humanitatem et congregationem; *ibid.*, 6.4: Nullius boni sine socio iucunda possessio est.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 95.51.

³⁵ *De Benef.* 6.3.2: Quid tamquam tuo parcis? Procurator es . . . in depositi causa [divitiae] sunt.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.1.1: demus ante omnia libenter, cito, sine ulla dubitatione. For complete references to giving and receiving benefits see (G.10.a.2.gg.)

³⁷ *De Otio* 1.4: Non desinemus opem ferre etiam inimicis.

³⁸ *De Clem.* 2.6.2: [sapienti] dabit egenti stipem, non hanc contumeliosam, quam pars maior horum qui misericordes videri volunt, abicit et fastidit, quos adiuvat, contingat ab illis timet, sed ut homo homini ex communi dabit.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.1.3: nemo non, cui alia desunt, hominis nomine apud me gratosus est; *De Vita Beata* 24.3: Hominibus prodesse natura me iubet. Servi libere sint hi, ingenui an libertini, iustae libertatis an inter amicos datae, quid refert? Ubicumque homo est, ibi benefici locus est. (G.10.a.2.ff.10.)

⁴⁰ *Ep.* 48.2: Alteri vivas oportet, si vis tibi vivere.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 95.52: Haec [natural] nobis amorem indidit mutuam et sociabiles fecit. Illa aequum iustumque composuit; ex illius constitutione miserius est nocere quam laedi. Ex illius imperio paratae sint iuvandis manus. Ille versus et in pectore et in ore sit: Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto. Habeamus in commune: nati sumus. Societas nostra lapidum fornicationi similissima est, quae casura, nisi in vicem obstaret, hoc ipso sustineretur. *Cl. De Ira* 1.5.2. ⁴² *De Clem.* 1.25.1: ferina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere ac vulneribus.

⁴³ For complete references to anger and cruelty, see (G.8.b.7. and G.9.b.2.1.)

⁴⁴ For complete references to clemency, see (G.10.a.2.ee.)

⁴⁵ *De Ira* 1.5.2-3. (G.8.b.7.e.)

⁴⁶ *De Ira* 1.21.1. (G.8.b.7.r.)

⁴⁷ *De Ira* 3.2-6.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.1.2: quidam e sapientibus viris iram dixerunt brevem insaniam. In several passages Seneca explicitly states that anger is a sign of madness: (G.8.b.7.k.)

⁴⁹ *De Ira* 1.1.4. (G.8.b.7.p.)

⁵⁰ *De Ira* 1.12.4: Non pietas illam iram sed infirmitas movet, sicut pueri, qui tam parentibus amissis flebunt quam nucibus.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 2.29.1: Maximum remedium irae mora est. (G.8.b.7.dd2.)

⁵² *De Ira* 3.28.4: Quid, quod pleraque eorum, propter quae irascimur, offundunt nos magis quam laedunt? (G.8.b.7.dd2.)

(See page 336)

Seneca's Humanitarianism

The Testimony of the *Epistulae Morales*

ALTHOUGH A TYPICAL ROMAN in essential respects—living in a lusty, clamorous, ruthless age that had little concern for the individual *qua* individual—Seneca displays in his Letters a unique humanitarianism, a sensitivity to his fellow men¹ in emotional terms, that lifts him out of his age and links him with the timeless emancipators of human slaveries. Primarily he is the moralist — *Seneca morale*, as Dante calls him in a roster of ancient luminaries.² He evaluates the individual as the culmination of animate life. Man to him as to Aristotle is the highest achievement; a sacred being entitled to civilized, ethical, reciprocally human treatment.³ Hence Seneca's *Letters* are strident with revolt against the cruelties to man⁴ inflicted for personal satisfactions or pleasure or for sheer perversion; against the brutish senselessness of the popular mass killings in the arena; against the barbaric treatment of slaves.

On the other hand, he emphasizes the value of kindness, not *per se* as a mere academic virtue, but as an effective aid in personal living. Yet he is not an aloof, *ex cathedra* preacher,⁵ issuing, from the seclusion of a *vita umbratilis*, exhortations (as Tertullian did later) against a vicious world conceived only remotely, that he knew only by hearsay—as in the case of his detached and scholarly contemporary Persius. Seneca knows the vices of the resorts, the perversions rife in the imperial court; and he acknowledges that there is corruption in man.⁶ Yet he considers that each man can contribute to the diminution of the defects, the deficiencies, the anomalies and injustices of his own times.⁷

The gladiatorial contests⁸ are Seneca's special target. You wretch—he cries, (7.5) implicitly addressing his fel-

low men—what crime did you commit that you should witness this sight? He describes such a gladiatorial performance as sheer murder,⁹ encouraged by the blood-lusting spectators.¹⁰ In *Epistle* 7.4 he fulminates once more:

In the morning men are thrown to lions and bears; at noon to their spectators, who order the slayers to be thrown to those who will slay them, and keep the victor for another slaughter.¹¹

Again,¹² he observes that human life in itself is sacred. It is man that has desecrated its sanctity. It is man who kills his fellow men for fun, to provide amusement at the bestial spectacles.¹³

There are other public cruelties too that stir Seneca to execration. There is the burning alive of condemned criminals,¹⁴ involving the shirt that is woven and seared with flames.¹⁵ The procedure, however guilty the victim, does not mitigate the guilt of the executors and the condoners.

In regard to slavery Seneca is a clamant rebel.¹⁶ Slaves are by accident reduced to their humble and depressed condition; but essentially they are human beings like their masters, and should be so considered and treated.

This chronologically startling view on Seneca's part marks an advance far beyond Greek ethical thought — into which the human concept of the slave as a fellow man did not enter.^{16a} It is remarkable however that, in spite of Seneca's vast influence (dramatic, rhetorical, conceptual, running almost unbrokenly through the centuries) his humanitarian attitude had no palpable effect on his age or on later generations. It appears that the slavery question, involving commercial and other vested considerations, had to drag out its course until far into the nineteenth century. And the status of slave has not, admittedly, become universal-

ly obsolete even in our own day.

The *locus classicus* for Seneca's views is *Epistle 47*, in which he describes the various disabilities and tortures¹⁷ to which slaves are exposed. The core of his argument is that slaves are men,¹⁸ and that the condition of slavery is an accident in an Aristotelian sense. For freedom and slavery are equally transitory and may change places, under human hazards; while in all other regards a slave is subject (as Shylock pointed out in a not essentially dissimilar context) to the sequence of human occasions:

Vis tu cogitare istum, quem servum tuum vocas, ex eisdem seminibus ortum eodem frui caelo, aequae spirare, aequae vivere, aequae mori! 47.10

He expresses the same thought in a variant form: distinctive names of social classes are not essential distinctions. For virtue has no social, no epichorial frontiers:

Quid est enim eques Romanus aut libertinus aut servus? Nomina ex ambitione aut ex iniuria nata. Subsiliare in caelum ex angulo licet. 31.11

It is true that, from the beginning of the first century of the Republic, and during the first imperial century, some progress was made in the official recognition of the slave as a human being.¹⁹ Still, for the large general Roman public, the slave remained an object of personal indifference.

Again, although Seneca declares that universal brotherhood has been implanted in man,²⁰ he does not assume that this kinship implies a state of happy innocence. He realizes the defects and vices that warp humanity, and is not hesitant to attack all such manifestations of evil that challenge the virtuous man. Immorality is rampant, especially in the luxury resorts such as Baiae, the haunt of dissipation:

locum . . . devitandum . . . quia illum sibi celebrandum luxuria desumpsit. 51.1

It has begun to be, in fact, a lodging-place for vices (51.3), where marital unfaithfulness and wild night life are prevalent (51.12).

Similarly, he attacks drunkenness and loose living (73.6), theft, adultery (87.23); and in 97.1-11 he elaborates on the adulterous *mores* with supporting historical instances. Excessive indulgence is illustrated by the story of the mullet (95.42), while intemperance in food in general comes in for pungent comment (95.25). In an incidental way, but in a characteristically Senecan tone, he flays murder, avarice, cruelty (95.30).

Seneca reveals a sense of broad humanity, not exacerbated by *ad hoc* resentments. He condemns vice not because he feels free from it himself, but as a means of clearing the way for virtuous living. He is not in this regard a moral preacher in *vacuo* so much as a kind of pragmatic guide to right living.

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NOTES

¹ But that does not imply physical contacts as well. Cf. W. Beare: "Seneca, one of the richest men in Rome and a man who openly admitted his distaste for close contact with the common people or their amusements." (*The Roman Stage*. London: Methuen and Co., 1950. P. 227.)

² *Inferno* 4.141.

³ Cf. Seneca's concept that all human beings belong to one global family: 95.51 f.

⁴ Quid (sc. explicas) singulis articulis singula machinamenta, quibus extorqueantur, aptata et mille alia instrumenta excarnificandi particulatim hominis? 24.14. Man destroys man for the mere pleasure of it (homini perdere hominem libet: 103.2). But, conversely, men are often ready to endure agonies for glory:

Athletae quantum plagarum ore, quantum toto corpore excipiunt? Ferunt tamen omne tormentum gloriae cupiditate nec tantum quia pugnant, ista patiuntur, sed ut pugnent. 78.16

⁵ Living in the heart of Rome, he feels its effects only too well. The tumult overwhelms him as much as it does Juvenal. The noises of the *ludi circenses*, for instance, are unendurable: ecce circensium obstreperit clamor. Subita aliqua et universa voce feriuntur aures meae. 83.7.

Still, he admits: fremitum patientissime fero (of course as a professed Stoic: *ibid.*)

⁶ Describing a visit to a gladiatorial spectacle, he reflects:

"I return greedier, more ambitious, more dissolute, even more cruel and inhuman, because I have been among men." 7.3

⁷ Nature itself is 'red in tooth and claw,' the weak being unceasingly crushed by superior force:

naturae est enim potioribus deteriora submittere. Mutis quidem gregibus aut maxima corpora praesunt aut vehementissima. Non praecedit armenta degener taurus, sed qui magnitudine ac toris ceteros mares vicit. Elephantorum gregem excelsissimus ducit. 90.4

Man, on the other hand, is driven by a higher impulse:

(See page 336)

Propertius and Horace

Quis multa gracilis

IT IS MY INTENTION in this paper to hazard the guess that in *Quis multa gracilis* (*Odes*, 1.5) Horace is still the satirist; that the object of his satire is Propertius, the foppish lover; that the *gracilis puer* of the ode is actually Propertius himself and that Pyrrha is his mistress Cynthia (or some new Cynthia); and that the ode is also a dig at the metaphors of Propertius, especially those drawn from navigation. It is, as I say, a guess, like that of Volpi's that the bore of Horace's *Satires* (1.9) is also Propertius — a guess reluctantly rejected by editors on chronological grounds.¹

This possibility was first suggested to me by a sentence in Prof. Haywood's note, "Integer Vitae and Propertius" (*C.J.*, 37, 1941, 29):

It is arguable, at least, that *Quis multa gracilis* (1.5) was meant as a partial statement of Horace's view against that of Propertius in matters of love—a pleasant and cool reminiscence of a past love affair to contrast with the feverish lamentations of Propertius.

Although I do not disagree with Prof. Haywood's view—which is sane, logical, and tenable—I must appear to do so to present my views, which are not entirely serious, but rather negligible conclusions, drawn for the most part from a series of amusing and amazing coincidences. Perhaps I should call this study a flight of fancy, a fantasia, the kind we all indulge in occasionally, and also an attempt to "frame" a favorite poet of mine, one whom unfortunately it has become almost traditional to malign. Whether the identification is right or wrong, we shall gain, I think, a curious insight into the character of Propertius.

(This assumes also that his lines are to be taken as autobiographical rather than commonplaces of the *genre*. [Ed.])

MOST OF HORACE's ode is one extended metaphor: Pyrrha is like a tempting but treacherous sea. Let us look at this ode in some detail.

1. *gracilis*. A difficult word to translate until one determines the tone of the whole lyric—not always an easy task.² If the tone of the whole ode is satiric, as I take it to be, we cannot accept the usual renderings: *delicate*, *slender*, *slim*. C. L. Smith, one of the

few editors who comment on this word, suggests *slip of a boy*, but adds: "In disparagement, as S.1.5.69 *gracili sic tamque pusillo*. There is nothing disparaging in *puer* itself."³ There is, I agree, a tone of disparagement intended in *gracilis*, and, if there is, the translation should be something uncomplimentary, like *skinny*. As for *puer*, there may be some disparagement intended in the choice of that word, too. Propertius was some fifteen years younger than Horace and, though about twenty-two at the time Horace's ode was written, was acting in the affairs of the heart like an adolescent—in the eyes of Horace. However, *delicate* (Wickham) would be admissible, if it hints at Propertius' ludicrous physique and foppish ways.

quis gracilis puer. What particular young man, if any, did Horace have in mind? To the Romans of Horace's day the answer may have been quite obvious. Let us assume that the answer was: "Propertius, the dandy, the would-be great Italian lover." His erotic elegies and his numerous conquests had made him famous for the one and notorious for the other throughout literary Rome. Now Propertius was rather thin. In fact, he was so often the joke of the literary set at Rome because of his extreme leanness (and his frequent amours) that he felt compelled to say in his defense that although he appeared shrunken in limb and emaciated, he was in other respects quite virile (2.22.21-2):

sed tibi si exiles videor tenuatus in artus,
falleris: haud umquam est culta labore Venus.

Anticipating the question which at once arises in the minds of his readers, he immediately adds (23-4):

percontare licet: saepe est experta puella
officium tota nocte valere meum.

A rather frank admission even for a Roman poet, and certainly one for the

book—Kinsey's. "Yes," continues Propertius, "in the warfare of love I am a veritable Achilles and a savage Hector," employing the whole pentameter to underline the statement (34);⁴ And he clinches the boast with an astronomical observation and further bragging (35-6):

aspice uti caelo modo sol modo luna ministret:
sic etiam nobis una puella parum est.

Though Propertius may have been painfully thin by nature, there were some, Cynthia among them, who attributed this specter-like appearance of his to loose living,⁵ for Propertius was quite promiscuous, notoriously so, especially before he met Cynthia, and probably after the final *discidium* also. He was, as he says, *mollis in omnes*.⁶ Fate willed him to be always in love (*mi fortuna aliquid semper amare dedit*).⁷ He liked to court more than one woman at a time, for if one refused him her favors another would grant him hers. "A lover, like a ship," says Propertius, "is always safer when held fast by two cables."⁸ His favorite hunting ground was the theatre,⁹ the *porticus Pompeia* adjoining it, and the Forum when gladiatorial games were being given there, until Cynthia declared them off limits (4.8.75-8):

tu neque Pompeia spatiabere cultus in umbra,
nec cum lascivum sternet harena Forum.
colla cave infectas ad summum obliqua theatrum,
aut lectica tuae se det aperta morae.

But if his amorous excesses contributed somewhat to his leanness, his abject servitude to Cynthia, the disappointments she gave him, too bitter and too frequent, contributed as much in making him pale, thin, and shrunken (1.5.19-22). Whatever the reason, thin he was, noticeably so, perhaps ridiculously so.

multa in rosa. Wickham says that though *in rosa* may mean "crowned with roses," the epithet *multa* suggests rather "a bed of rose leaves."¹⁰ Smith thinks that wreaths are meant, and adds: "The roses were worn in a great garland round the head and shoulders."¹¹ Both notions could very well

have been in Horace's mind, if he was thinking of Propertius; for Propertius was particularly fond of roses in any form, though he was especially fond of wearing them (3.5.21-2). When Horace speaks of his wearing garlands himself, as he does in *Odes*, 1.4.9-10,

nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto
aut flore, terrae quem ferunt solutae,

he seems to mean it figuratively, not literally. Anyway, it was a practice (literal or figurative) which he eventually was to tire of (*Odes*, 4.1.31-2):

nec certare juvat mero
nec vincere novis tempora floribus.

In the case of Propertius, however, wearing garlands of roses was a practice he indulged in literally, not figuratively. It was in fact while so costumed (and intoxicated) that once, returning from a night of revelry, he found Cynthia asleep; whereupon, after gazing long at her beauty, he removed his ever-present garland and placed it about her head (1.3.21-2). It is the uncouth lover, we infer from another elegy, who does not wear a garland, even an ivy one, around his head (2.5.25-6). Propertius even hoped that, should he die before Cynthia, his mistress would place his bones "on a soft couch of delicate rose-leaves" (1.17.22) and would festoon his tomb with garlands—of roses, probably (3.16.23-4). His tomb, incidentally, he hoped would be shaded either by some leafy tree (3.16.28) or more fittingly by a laurel (2.13.13-4), though his shade would eventually dwell with Cynthia's "where blessed airs fan the roses of Elysium" (4.7.60).¹²

Such was Propertius, for whom, since garlands were so intimately a part of his life, to write love poetry was synonymous with "to lie languidly among the wreaths of yesterday" (2.34.59), and for whom to write at all was to write of garlanded lovers, for such was the will of the gods (3.3.47-8). Such was Propertius, whose constant cry seems to have been: "Let winsome roses stream about my neck" (4.6.72).

2. *perfusus liquidis odoribus*. If the tone of Horace's ode is chiefly satirical, then we again need something stronger than "bedewed," the usual translation of *perfusus*. The participle *perfusus* seems carefully chosen as though meant to caricature, in which case it should be translated "drenched" or "bathed."¹³ Besides, the presence of *liquidis odoribus*, instead of the kinder *unguento*, suggests saturation to the point of precipitation.

Propertius was rather fond of perfume. He doused his head with it liberally, though, at times, ineffectually. So he admits in 2.4.5, employing the same word Horace uses: *nequiquam perfusa meis unguenta capillis*. And when he objects to Cynthia's use of hair oil (in her case, for professional reasons), he employs the same uncompimentary verb (1.2.3). And, finally, in a poem in which he calls for a night of wine, women, and song, Propertius calls, too, for an especially heaving drenching of perfume (4.6.74): *terque lavet nostras spica Cilissa comas*. Incidentally, the majority of the best manuscripts show instead of *terque lavet*, which Butler prefers in his Loeb edition, the reading *perque lavet*, which, happily, Butler and Barber resuscitate. As the only instance of tmesis in all of Propertius, *perque lavet* seems meant to emphasize the heavy application of brilliantine desired.

3. *grato sub antro*. Pastoral love, *al fresco* affairs, had a great fascination for country-born Propertius. In 2.30.25-6, anticipating Marlowe by several centuries, he invites Cynthia to live with him and be his love in some dewy cave on some mossy ridge. And he underlines the invitation with internal rhyme:

*libeat tibi, Cynthia, mecum
rorida muscosis antra tenere iugis*

In 3.13, taking his cue from Lucretius, Propertius inserts a passage in which he longs, for twenty-one lines, for the golden age when love was free, natural, and inexpensive. In those days, a

lover's gifts were apples, grapes, violets, or lilies. "Bought by such wooing as this were the kisses that girls gave their silvan lovers in secret caves," says Propertius (33-4).¹⁴ "A roe-deer's skin," he continues, "was enough to cover two lovers, and the grass grew tall to make them nature's couch" (35-6).

This was a practice Cynthia and Propertius had often indulged. So Cynthia reminds him in 4.7.19-20:

*saepe Venus trivio comissa est, pectore mixto
fecerunt tepidas pallia nostra vias.*

It was a practice Propertius indulged in even without Cynthia—at least on one very memorable occasion. Angry with her for having hurried off to Lanuvium with some wealthy client, Propertius invited two women of easy virtue to help him pass the time: Phyllis, (*sobria grata parum: cum bibit, omne decet*) and Teia, (*candida, sed potae non satis unus erit*).¹⁵ For them and for himself he had provided one couch in a secluded spot on the lawn (4.8.35):

Anticipating again the question which naturally rises in the reader's mind, Propertius immediately adds: *quaeris concubitus? inter utramque fui*. A flute player from the Nile supplied the music; Phyllis played the castanets while Propertius tossed his favorite flower at her—roses (4.8.39-40). No doubt the local meteorologist had promised fair weather; but, as often, he was mistaken, for a storm (in the form of a very angry Cynthia) suddenly broke upon the three and sent them scurrying for safety.

4. *cui flavam religas comam*, *simplex munditiis*? There seems to be no point in Horace's mentioning Pyrrha's hair except to emphasize its color and arrangement. Pyrrha, as her name would indicate, was a blonde. Cynthia, too, was a blonde.¹⁶ She wore her hair in a variety of styles. Too often she put it up elaborately (and dressed in keeping with her hair-do). At such times Propertius was most unhappy, for it was an ominous sign. Too well did

Propertius know that clothes make the man (1.2.1-4):

quid luvat ornato procedere, vita, capillo
et tenues Coa veste movere sinus?
aut quid Orontea crines perfundere murra,
atque peregrinis vendere muneribus?¹⁷

A clue, incidentally, to the style of hair much resented here may be found in 2.5.23, where Propertius is tempted, in anger, to tear her "plaited tresses" (*conexos crines*).

Cynthia's hair was naturally beautiful. Whenever she dyed it, the hair he loved so much (1.17.21: *caros crines*), he fumed intemperately (2.18.23-8):

nunc etiam infectos demens imitare Britannos,
ludis et externo tincta nitore caput?
ut natura dedit, sic omnis recta figura est:
turpis Romano Belgicus ore color.
illi sub terris flant mala multa puellae,
quae mentita suas vertit inepta comas!

Cynthia's hair, in its natural state, was so very beautiful that one of Propertius's fondest wishes was that when he died she would lay a lock of her hair on his pyre (1.17.21). But Cynthia died first. It is not surprising that when next he saw her, in a dream, Cynthia appeared to him with her garment charred against her side but with the same beautiful hair (and eyes) which he had always loved (4.7.7-8).

When Cynthia did not fuss with her hair, when she let it fall naturally, then Propertius was happiest and most approving. His heart was most vulnerable then—whether the hair-do was Cynthia's or another's (2.22.7-10). A clue, incidentally, to the style of hair-do which Propertius most highly approved of may be found in such passages as 1.3.23 (*lapsos capillos*), 2.1.7 (*sparsos capillos*), 2.13.13 (*comae per levia colla fluentes*), 2.22.9 (*vagi crines*), 3.10.14 (*nitidas presso pollice comas*), 4.8.52 (*non operosa comis*).

The Pyrrha in Horace's ode is combing her hair back in some simple fashion that Propertius would approve of. If she was fixing her hair in some Spartan fashion,¹⁸ as is likely, Propertius would most definitely have applauded. "In Sparta," says he, "no

raiment at all, least of all of Tyrian purple, cheats the searching eyes of lovers; nor is there ever that cursed fussing and perfuming of the hair" (3.14.27-8).

As for women's clothes, Propertius's frank opinion was that they were completely unnecessary. However, if a woman pleases a man, that man finds her sufficiently dressed and attractively dressed when simply dressed (1.2.26).

The rest of Horace's ode (6 to the end) is an extended metaphor drawn from navigation: the young man is in for a rough time on the sea of love; how he will marvel that love, at the moment like a calm and peaceful sea, can become so suddenly black with stormy gales; he possesses Pyrrha for the moment, and foolishly thinks her pure gold; he hopes that she will never know another lover but will always be his to love, ignorant of the fact that Pyrrha, like the winds of the sea, can change suddenly and treacherously; unfortunate are they to whom Pyrrha, untried, appears like a shining, tempting sea; as for himself, he has escaped shipwreck, in gratitude for which he dedicates his dripping garments to Neptune.

Such a girl was *Pyrrha aurea*—a tempting but treacherous sea. Such, too, was Cynthia. We must call her *aurea* too, for had not Propertius presented her with a portrait or a miniature statue of herself—in solid gold (4.7.47)? *Aurea* was, in fact, the epithet which Cynthia wanted inscribed on her tombstone (4.6.85-6).

To compare Pyrrha to the sea is appropriate enough, for was not Venus herself born of the sea? However, that particular metaphor (love is a sea), except for its appearance in this ode, is, I believe, fairly uncommon in Horace. It occurs, however, with unusual frequency in Propertius—after Book I. In Book I of Propertius, love is an illness (physical and/or mental), a yoke, a torch, a fire; love is warfare and slav-

ery, but never a journey (rough or smooth) by sea. Suddenly, however, with Book II this metaphor appears, fairly floods its pages, and spills over into Book III. Then, as suddenly as it appeared in Book II, it disappears in Book IV, its source and inspiration having no doubt dried up.

Here is the metaphor as it appears in Propertius. Love is a ship tossed upon a changing sea, the wind never constant (2.12.7-8). Love is as swift and variable as the wind, hence his wings (2.12.5). Cynthia is a harbor light. On her it depends whether Propertius' ship will come safely to shore or sink laden with grief in the shoals (2.14.29-30). Love shifts like the winds, which are sometimes favorable and sometimes unfavorable (2.25.27). Cynthia shifts like the winds (2.5.27). Lovers' moods are as variable as the winds (2.5.11-3). A woman's word changes quicker than the Syrtes (2.9.33-6). Masculine love is a voyage in a small but safe skiff, down a gentle stream free from harmful waves (2.4.19-20).

The frequency with which this particular metaphor occurs in Propertius and the freshness with which it is usually invested may have attracted Horace's attention and, eventually, his derision. One of the longest, and surely one of the finest, of these metaphors drawn from the sea occurs in Book III. There, in almost the last poem he wrote to Cynthia (3.24), Propertius bitterly regrets the voyage (metaphorically speaking) he had made with Cynthia. It had been stormy, to say the least. It had ended in shipwreck. "But lo! my ships have found a haven," says Propertius, "and wear wreaths of thanksgiving, the Syrtes are crossed and mine anchor cast" (lines 15-6). And weary of the wild seas of love, having finally recovered his senses, he dedicates, not dripping garments, but himself, to the temple of *Mens Bona*. And so, more or less, as we have seen, does Horace's ode end also.

The evidence cited above, far from

complete, has been entirely of a coincidental nature, but there has been a good deal of it. Is Propertius the *gracilis puer*? Is Pyrrha Cynthia or some new Cynthia with whom Propertius took up after his stormy trip with the old one was over, some new Cynthia with whom, *puer* as he still was after all not to have learned his lesson, he was to sail again the tempestuous seas of love? I should like to think so, but I do not, really.

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NOTES

¹ For a summary of Volpi's argument, see A. Palmer, *The Satires of Horace* (New York, 1915) 219-20. On chronological grounds my guess is still possible, for although I quote as evidence lines from Propertius's third book (especially from 24), which is thought to have been published in 22 B. C., a year after the publication of Horace's *Odes* (I-III), those lines occur in poems which were probably written and circulated as early as 25 B. C. Butler and Barber, conjecturing that the liaison between Propertius and Cynthia was broken in 25 B. C. or early 24, say of Book III: "Eli. 24 and 25 may well have been composed and sent to Cynthia at the time of the rupture." That statement holds true, of course, for other elegies in Book III.

² The tone of *Integer vitae*, for example, still escapes many readers. "The solemn and pompous opening of Odes 1.22 (*Integer vitae*)," says L. P. Wilkinson in *Horace and his Lyric Poetry* (Cambridge, 1946, p.62), "has led many into taking it for a serious poem. There are institutions in which it is regularly sung as though it were a hymn. But on Horace's lips, complacent though he was, the proposition 'I am so good I can come to no harm: only lately a monster of a wolf ran away when it saw me' is hardly serious, especially when it is dressed up in high-flown rhetoric."

³ C. L. Smith, *The Odes and Epodes of Horace* (New York, 1902) ad loc.

⁴ Tibullus, who is not as theatrical as Propertius in his verse technique, expresses the same idea in the hexameter and so ruins its epigrammatic effect by having to fill in the rest of the line with a new thought (1.1.75: *hic ego dux milesque bonus: vos, signa tubaque*).

⁵ Cf. Horace, who with more tradition than conviction says *me libertina . . . macerat* (Epodes 14.15-16) and *arguens quam lentis penitus macerer ignibus* (Odes 1.13.7-8).

⁶ 2.22.13. ⁷ 2.22.18. ⁸ 2.22.41. ⁹ 2.22.4.

¹⁰ E. C. Wickham, *The Odes, Carmen Saeculare and Epodes* (Oxford, 1904), ad loc.

¹¹ C. L. Smith, op. cit., ad loc.

¹² Tr. H. E. Butler (Loeb). All other translations which follow are his also.

¹³ Horace uses *perfusus* again in Epodes 13.9; Tibullus in 1.7.51 (*illius et nitido stillent unguenta*) calls for the same drenching.

¹⁴ This sigh for the good old days occurs in Tibullus also (2.3.71-72).

¹⁵ Cf. Horace, Epodes 14.15-16 (*libertina, nec uno contenta, Phryne*).

¹⁶ So too was Tibullus's Delia (1.5.43-4) and several of Horace's women.

¹⁷ The first two lines of this passage (*quid iuvat . . . sinus*) are flung back at him mockingly by the procuress, Acanthis, in 4.5.55-6.

¹⁸ As C. L. Smith believes. Cf. Horace, Odes 2.11.23-4 (in *comptum Laeceniae/ more comas religata nodum*).

POETIC ELEMENT IN HERODOTUS' SPEECHES

FOREWORD

Perhaps it is not superfluous to remind the reader that Herodotus hadn't much choice in the matter of style, that poetry had come first (and, besides Homer, even Aeschylus' *Persians* antedated his own account of the Persian Wars), that stylistically he was between the Scylla of poesy and the Charybdis of vulgar prose (rather than a sophisticated prose style). So, as 'Longinus' says, Herodotus became *Homerikotatos*. Mr. Guzie is an advanced student, preparing to teach the Classics. [Ed.]

THE FACT THAT there are in Herodotus' *History* many poetic mannerisms and methods of expression becomes obvious even on a cursory reading of the work. Arnold W. Gomme in his recent book, *The Greek Attitude to Poetry and History*,¹ discusses these poetic elements, qualifying Aristotle's statement that Herodotus in verse would nevertheless remain history.² The story of Periander and Lycophron (3.50-53) and in particular the unforgettable one of Croesus and Adrestus (1.34-45), Gomme writes, show remarkable resemblances to Homer, while the key speech of Miltiades before the battle of Marathon (6.109) "would go admirably into verse."³ Further on he asserts that "it is Herodotus' method to write in the 'poetic' manner, as a creative artist, as we might express it . . . This is easiest to see in his speeches, which he always reports in the artist's manner, whether in a story of the past like that of Candaules and Gyges (1.7-13), or in the private discussions of contemporary persons, as Xerxes and Artabanus, about the war (7.46-52)."⁴

But just what is this "poetic manner," so evident in Herodotus' speeches? Since Gomme leaves the point undeveloped, it would be interesting to analyze the poetic characteristics of the discourses in the *History*.

Some of these poetic qualities are immediately obvious: the concrete and descriptive words used, the frequent

employment of poetic and particularly Homeric methods of expression, and the general lack of complex rhetoric. Herodotus uses little indirect discourse, employing instead the Homeric procedure of direct speech. Croiset remarks that Herodotus' speeches resemble conversation more closely than oratory, Thucydides being the first historian to compose true orations.⁵ In general, much of the rapidity, nobility, and plainness and directness both in thought and in structure that Matthew Arnold finds in Homer, one finds also in Herodotus' speeches.

However important all these qualities just mentioned may be, and however much when assimilated they may emphasize the poetic style in which the speeches are written, do they yet sufficiently illustrate what Gomme calls Herodotus's "poetic manner" of writing? It seems that a more detailed consideration of the poetry in his speeches demands an analysis not only of their style but of their *usages* as well.

Concerning the various ways in which the discourses are employed, Croiset states that in the speeches delivered by his characters Herodotus "is less interested in analyzing their historical motives than in making them talk with amplitude and grace, like heroes of epic or romance."⁶ Similarly, he frequently utters through the lips of his characters his own general principles and ideas, observations that the modern historian would tend to put in expository form. For example, we have, as Gomme elucidates,⁷ Herodotus' "philosophy of history" expressed by means of the chronologically impossible interview between Solon and Croesus (1.30-33), and his further ideas on prosperity and temporal power are developed through Xerxes' talk with Demaratus at Doriscus (7.101-5). J. L. Myres in *Herodotus, the Father of History* mentions another purpose of the discourses, namely, that speeches and pairs of speeches are employed "to

punctuate the narrative and to emphasize its turning-points."⁸

Now although all these usages are poetic, each to a greater or lesser degree, still the commentators on the *History* seem to have neglected one very salient, essentially poetic employment of the speeches that necessarily makes up Herodotus' "poetic manner" of writing, namely, that he uses his speeches to *portray the characters* of his agents. Examples will be more illustrative of this fact than explanations, so let us listen to some of the "heroes" of the *History* as Herodotus makes them speak.

Croesus, the king of Lydia, in spite of his foolishness in attacking the powerful Cyrus, was yet a god-fearing man with a great deal of trust in Providence, a trait of character that he himself brings out when he addresses Cyrus after his defeat:

'Who was it, Croesus,' Cyrus asked, 'that persuaded you to lead an army into my country and so to be my enemy rather than to remain as my friend?'

And Croesus answered, 'I did it of my own accord, O king, and I thereby brought good fortune to you, loss to myself. Any blame rests with the god of the Greeks who encouraged me to make war against you. There is no one so foolish as to prefer war to peace, for in peace sons bury their fathers, while in times of hostility fathers bury their sons. But I believe that heaven has willed everything to turn out this way.' (1.87)

Mardonius, the military genius and mastermind behind the throne of Xerxes, was haughtily overconfident in the Persian military might, a thing which eventually led to his and Xerxes' downfall. Coupled with this overestimation is his own desire for revenge in return for previous defeats he suffered at the hands of the Greeks in the time of Darius. In Book Seven after the Persians' conquest of Egypt, Mardonius addresses the king:

My lord, it is certainly strange that after conquering and enslaving the Sacae, the Indians, the Ethiopians, the Assyrians, and many other powerful nations, not for any

injury they had done us, but merely to extend our empire, we should allow the Greeks, who have done us so much harm, to escape our vengeance! What have we to fear from them? Have they mighty armies or an abundance of wealth with which to make us fear? . . . Who, O king, will dare to meet you in battle when you come at the head of all of Asia's armies and navies? I for my part do not think the Greeks will be so audacious. But if I am mistaken, and if those men are foolish enough to meet us in battle, they will be taught that we are the best warriors on earth!

Note the similarity of the poetic observation with which he concludes to Shakespeare's many aphorisms:

But whatever happens, let us be ever venturesome, for nothing comes of itself, and all men's gains are the fruit of adventure. (7.9)

For a final example of character portrayal in Herodotus' speeches let us turn to the Greek camp and to Themistocles. This Athenian statesman was a politician through and through, and while all his conversations with others are replete with his political shrewdness, the speech that best unfolds this trait of character is the one in which he persuades the Athenians not to pursue the fleeing Persians:

I have often myself noticed and have heard it even more frequently from others that conquered men, driven to desperation, will take up the fight again and gain back their previous disasters. We have just had the great fortune to save ourselves and Greece by driving away this great cloud of men. Let us not now pursue them as they flee! Be assured of the fact that we have not accomplished this by our own power. Rather it is gods and heroes that have won this victory; they considered Asia and Europe too vast a kingdom for one man to rule, particularly a man so wicked and impious as Xerxes. . . . But now everything is well with us; let us remain in Greece and place our concern with ourselves and our families, for the foreigners are gone. (8.109)

This he said, Herodotus tells us, to have a safe retreat in case any misfortune should happen to him at the hands of the Athenians, as actually did later on. At the same time the cunning politician

sent this message to the Persians:

Themistocles the Athenian, out of his desire to do you a favor, has restrained the Greeks from pursuing your ships and breaking the bridges at the Hellespont. Now journey back home at your own leisure. (8.110)

These examples, though only in a small way representative of the countless number of speeches and conversations distributed throughout the nine books, are nevertheless sufficient to indicate how Herodotus has used them to portray the characters of the speakers. The poetic importance of this character portrayal can best be realized by a brief glance at Homer. There is no one person in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* whom we do not, at Homer's will, learn to love or to despise; and yet, in spite of all the description and narration, we would never draw for ourselves as vivid a mental picture as we do of wrathful Achilles, noble Hector, proud Agamemnon, resourceful Odysseus, or faithful Penelope, were it not for their own words. The real merit of Homer's speeches, according to Croiset, lies in the very fact that through them the natures, the intentions, the moral characters of the speakers are revealed.⁹ It is equivalently this same statement made about Homer that we have applied to Herodotus and illustrated with the help of Croesus, Mardonius, and Themistocles.

It will be noted, therefore, that whereas some of Herodotus' speeches are employed, as has been mentioned, to illustrate his own philosophies, to emphasize critical and climactic moments in the story, or to analyze historical motives (this last element, surprisingly enough, is found rather infrequently), yet we find in almost all of the speeches this element of character portrayal. It is this highly poetic quality, coupled with all the other points of usage and style, that explains best Herodotus' "poetic manner" of writing, a manner that makes of him a poet in the literal sense of the word, namely,

a creative artist, and, it might be added, a true humanist as well.

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NOTES

¹ Arnold W. Gomme, *The Greek Attitude to Poetry and History* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954), Sather Classical Lectures, XXVII.

² Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1457b2-4.

³ Gomme, *op. cit.*, 98. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁵ Alfred and Maurice Croiset, *An Abridged History of Greek Literature*, trans. by G. F. Heffelflower (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1904), 273. For a complete treatment on Herodotus, cf. the unabridged work, *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque* (Paris: Thorin et Fils, 1898) II, chap. 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 271. ⁷ Gomme, *op. cit.*, 386-7.

⁸ John L. Myres, *Herodotus, the Father of History* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1953), 80.

⁹ Croiset, *op. cit.*, 31.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The present editor has received a Whitney Foundation appointment for 1955-6 and will be at the University of Redlands, California, then. At this writing it is not fully determined whether he will continue as editor, and certainly not who will succeed him otherwise. Even the May number of the *Journal* will be all but in the mail before the Executive Committee can meet and act. In either event, it is highly desirable that all loose ends be caught up.

If any contributors have not received extra copies ordered or other matters have been overlooked (all requiring the unassisted physical effort of the editor), do not hesitate to send reminders. A tentative offer (Nov., p. 90) of the editor's own partial files of Classical publications to some college has been held in abeyance by more urgent matters and some uncertainties. Of the replies received, that from a *Sister in Milwaukee* has been mislaid so that name and address are not available.

Certain types of contributions not commonly run in *CJ* (plays, poems and literary, imaginative compositions), some of which have been long on hand, are something of a problem. It is possible that the Latin plays may be edited and grouped in some one number, if that promises to be a service and especially if teachers would be disposed to order in advance extra copies for small casts — so that we could know how many extras to run off. It is in order for subscribers to send advice on this and other matters of policy.

NOVISSIMA LATINITAS: SWEDENBORG'S LATIN

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG (1688-1772), an encyclopedic genius of considerable stature, was among the last to write nearly all his works in Latin. He was a prolific writer and amongst his works we find astronomical, physiological, metallurgical, physical, philosophical, theosophical, theological, poetical and engineering texts.¹ While he seems to have dominated the Ciceronian phrase as well as anybody else, and actually wrote fluent Latin poetry² in a somewhat Ovidian style, his scientific Latin, totally different from his poetical Latin, is direct, forceful, entirely post-Classical and, as it were, "modern".

The most striking feature of Swedenborg's scientific and theological Latin is the complete absence of the accusative with the infinitive construction after verbs of saying, thinking, perceiving etc. This Classical construction is always replaced by a *quod*-clause with the subjunctive, corresponding to the *que*-clause in modern Romance languages. A sentence like this "Sed respondebat, quod talia non cogitaverit in vita corporis" (CI 241)³ would probably in Classical Latin be somewhat like "Sed negavit se talia, cum in mundo vixisset, cogitavisse". Or take the following somewhat more complex sentence with its happy disregard for the finer points of modal expression: "Communis opinio est, quod illi qui extra ecclesiam nati sunt, . . . , non possint salvari, ex causa quia non habent Verbum, ac ita ignorant Dominum, et absque Domino nulla salus . . ." (CI 191) which sentence in Classical Latin perhaps would come out as "Extra ecclesiam natos, Verbi expertes ac proinde inscios Dei, salvari posse et salutem ullam sine Deo esse, plerumque negatur." Swedenborg's curious but consistent use of *quod* can best be seen in his statement "Homo novit quod amor sit, sed non novit quid amor est"

(AC 32),⁴ meaning "Amorem esse homo scit, sed nescit quid sit". Yet he knows, of course, the accusative with the infinitive construction and uses it both in poetry and prose, though rarely in the latter: ". . . ille miratus quod ita disceptarent, dixit se non illa velle audire . . ." (CI 193) or in these verses from the *Ultimorum Lapponum Descriptio*:⁵

Hic videas Homines parvos & in ore rotundos,
et membris graciles, moribus esse feros.

Indirect questions are generally given in the indicative. "Qui non scit quomodo se habet cum ordine Divino . . . , non capere potest quomodo caeli distincti sunt . . ." (CI 29) which we render by "Qui nescit quomodo ordo Divinus se habeat . . . , intelligere nequit quomodo caeli distinguantur . . ."

Swedenborg translates with a directness and courage from any of the languages he knew that horrifies the true Classicist. His Latin is full of Germanicisms. "Et dixit maritus ad me . . ." (AC 69); "Et ibi erat magnificum nemus ex palmis et lauribus . . ." (AC 69); "Usus boni sunt, se et suos prospicere necessariis vitae . . ." (CI 224); "Sapientia illorum se habet ad sapientiam humanam sicut myrias ad unum . . ." (CI 154).

He often achieves a curious liveliness by repeating words for emphasis or to indicate duration, multitude or repetition. ". . . et viderunt plerosque dormientes, et qui evigilati sunt, oscitantes et oscitantes" (AC 14); "Expectabant et expectabant, usque ad spiritus illorum anhelarent . . ." (AC 11); ". . . vagati sumus per gyros et gyros . . ." (AC 13); ". . . super qua erant urbes et urbes . . ." (AC 71). Very characteristic is his use of neuter adjectives instead of nouns. ". . . verum fidei facit praesentiam Domini, et bonum vitae secundum vera fidei facit conjunctionem cum Ipso" (AC 63) which would be either "veritas fidei" or "vera fides" and "probitas vitae secundum veram fidem" or "vita

proba secundum veritatem fidei". In a sentence like "Erat quidam spiritus ex Gentilibus, qui in bono charitatis secundum suum religiosum in mundo vixerat . . ." (CI 193) Swedenborg may have had a subtle theological reason for not translating "according to his religion" by "secundum religionem suam", not wanting to call religion what—not being Christian—could not have been the true religion. ". . . ideo unumquodvis sculptile repraesentat aliquid partiale virtutis . . ." (AC 67) for something like ". . . ideo quaeque sculptura quemdam aspectum virtutis partim exprimit . . ." certainly sounds terrible, but we must not forget that Swedenborg was first and foremost a scientist, an astronomer, physicist and biologist⁷ who tried to express as simply and as accurately as possible visionary facts that have no exact counterpart in our world. He certainly knew the word "sculptura", but probably felt that the particular symbolic formations which he saw in his vision, could not really be called sculptures. He always uses "jucundum" as a noun meaning "joy". "Quid ergo est gaudium caeleste? . . . Est jucundum faciendi aliquid quod est sibi et aliis usui". (AC 9) He uses the enclitic *-ne* for *nonne*. "Estne amor conjugalis amor castus, purus et sanctus? Suntne angeli caeli in illo?" (AC 97) meaning "Nonne amor conjugalis castus, purus, sanctus est? Nonne ei angeli caelestes insunt?" The instrumental ablative is rarely used. It is generally replaced by *per*. "Communicant omnes societates caeli inter se, non per apertum commercium, sed . . . per extensionem sphaerae . . ." (CI 33) or "Sed per facta et opera non intelliguntur facta et opera . . ." (CI 295). The ablative of degree of difference is equally shunned. "De sapientia angelorum tertii . . . caeli, et quantum illa excedit sapientiam angelorum primi . . . caeli, nunc dicetur." (CI 155). Swedenborg is fond of the word "dabilis", meaning "possible, plausible, given" and scarcely ever uses *sine* for which he substitutes

absque. ". . . cum homo fit spiritus, manet eadem inclinatio mutua; et haec non dabilis est absque similibus consortiis . . ." (AC 48). He makes no distinction between *duo* and *bini* and thus says "Quondam cum duobus angelis locutus sum . . . Et tunc bini illi angeli . . . ibant . . ." (AC 109) or "Haec allata sunt, ut sciatur quod bini calores sunt, nempe spiritualis et naturalis . . ." (CI 366). He rarely uses *nemo*, but mostly *nullus*. ". . . ita quisque vellet habere felicitatem aliorum pro se, et cum quisque, nullus haberet . . ." (CI 251). Equally rare is the use of the ablative absolute construction, though it appears here and there, and the employment of negative verbs like *nescire*, *nolle*, *negare* which are nearly always rendered by *non scire*, *non velle*, and *dicere quod non* . . .

I think the conclusions from our short study of Swedenborg's Latinity are obvious. He knew two kinds of Latin, an elegant and classicistically unimpeachable Latin which he used in poetry, and another one, simple, direct, barbarous, but easily read and understood which he used for scientific and technical purposes. There exist, after all, quite a number of different kinds of English and we do not use the same kind of English in a telegram, joke or technical report that we use in a Fourth-of-July oration.

The advantages of Swedenborg's scientific Latin are evident. Since he does not feel hampered by the pedantry of schoolmen, he can simply and forcefully express facts and observations which to be rendered in Classical Latin would need an extraordinary amount of circumlocution. Since Latin is enormously flexible and capable of expressing all sorts of messages, once the Classical fetters have been shed, his disregard of sacred rules grammatical and syntactical does not impede communication at all. In fact, his Latin being in syntax and vocabulary so much nearer to our speech can be better and more easily understood than literary

Latin of the Classical period. What is more important, anybody who owns a Latin dictionary and has had no more than the very rudiments of grammar can easily read and understand Swedenborg. His Latin proves that, provided we are willing to revive some form of post-Classical Latin, it may again become a living and useful international language, useful especially in such fields as philosophy, philology, politics and science.

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NOTES

¹ Some titles will give the reader an idea of the scope of Swedenborg's mind: *Nova observata et inventa circa ferrum et ignem, una cum nova camini inventio* (Amsterdam, 1721); *Methodus nova inveniendi longitudinem locorum terra marique ope Lunae* (dto); *Modus construendi receptacula navalia* (dto); *Modus mechanice explorandi virtutes navigiorum* (dto); *Miscellanea observata circa res naturales, praesertim mineralia, ignem et montium situs* (Leipzig, 1722); *Opera philosophica et mineralia* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1734); *De febribus* (Rome, 1738); *Prodromus philosophiae ratiocinantis de infinito et causa finali creationis deque mechanismo operationis animae et corporis* (Dresden, 1734); *Arcana coelestia* (London, 1749-56); *De telluribus in mundo nostro solari* (dto, 1758); *Apocalypsis revelata* (dto 1766) and many more theological and theosophical works, as well as quite a number of still inedited scientific works on biology, physiology, physics and chemistry.

² "At the University (of Upsala) he was distinguished for his Latin verses, and it would seem that he was regarded in his own circle as a poet of some promise." E. Brayley Hodgetts, *Reasonable Religion, Emanuel Swedenborg, His Message and Teaching*. (London, 1923, 3.)

³ CI with page number refers in the following always to *De Caelo et ejus Mirabilibus et de Inferno ex auditis et visis*. Opus Emanuelis Swedenborg ejus editio princeps exiit Londini MDCCCLVIII. (New York, 1889)

⁴ AC with page number refers in the following always to *Deliciae Sapientiae de Amore Conjugialis post quas sequuntur Voluptates Insaniae de Amore Scortatorio*. Ab Emanuele Swedenborg Sueco. Editio hujus operis princeps exiit Amstelodami MDCCCLXVIII. (New York, 1889)

⁵ From *Ludus Heliconius sive Carmina Miscellanea*. Greifswalde, 1714-15, 63. (Upsala, 1910)

⁶ The anonymous translator of Swedenborg in the American edition of *Conjugal Love and its Chaste Delights* (New York, 1871, 76) translates our passage: "... therefore each particular carved figure represents partially some virtue ..."

⁷ Swedenborg is today mainly known as a visionary mystic and a religious genius. It seems, indeed, that the greater part of all his writings is devoted to his theology of the New Jerusalem, to his particular Biblical exegesis, to a painstaking description of his visions and to voluminous reports of his conversations with angels and spirits. Nevertheless, as Alexander James Grieve writes in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (London, 1939, vol. 21, p. 655), it was seen towards the end of the 19th century "that in almost every de-

partment of scientific activity he was ahead of his time. His work on palaeontology shows him the predecessor of all the Scandinavian geologists. He was also a great physicist and had arrived at the nebular theory of the formation of the planets and the sun long before Kant and Laplace ..." Grieve maintains that Swedenborg's greatest importance lies in the field of physiology where he arrived at views as to the function of the brain, the ductless glands and the spinal cord far in advance of his times. He is supposed to be among the first to have attempted a system of crystallography and to have devised a system of navigation by the moon. His professional interest, of course, lay in metallurgy, mineralogy, mining, administration and economics.

Interesting to us is the fact that he carried on his gigantic literary life work entirely in Latin, writing in Swedish only when his public was unable to understand Latin. We have an algebra by him written in Swedish and Latin and a few texts in Swedish on nautical, engineering, geological and economic subjects and on the decimal system which he advocated.

LINGUA LATINA: LINGUA GENTIUM

VARIAE SUNT conditiones quas lingua ad usum gentium adaptata stipulatur, scilicet: 1) ut sit facile discenda; 2) ut sit facile intelligenda; 3) ut contineat quam plurimas voces jam bene notas et usu vulgari usurpatas.

Quamquam lingua Latina plurimas voces late diffusas continet, integra non est facile discenda, nec est ulla alia lingua, linguis artificiosis exceptis. Utitur haec lingua multis variisque figuris grammaticis, illa dictionibus idiomaticis, tertia vocibus ignotis, nec est lingua quae sit pari modo omnibus gentibus facili accessu. Nihilominus, difficultates linguae Latinae valde exaggeratae sunt. Convenit citare Patrem Dimnet qui in libro suo *THE ART OF THINKING* (New York, 1942, 53) dicit: "In fact, little peasants trained for the priesthood by plain country *curés* who never dream of calling themselves scholars constantly master Latin morphology in three or four months." Timor linguae Latinae superstitio puerilis est.

Sed ponamus, argumenti causa, linguam Latinam difficilem esse, cur non utimur idiomatibus artificiosis? Putamus iis nobis non utendum esse, quia tanta et multiplicia sunt idiomata arte facta, ut difficile sit eligere optimum;

quia haec idiomata adhuc in statu nascendi sunt (quamquam unum ex iis, Esperanto, quandam certitudinem habet); quia optima eorum imitationes et simplificationes linguae Latinae primordiae sunt; quia in permultis nationibus etiam nunc lingua Latina docetur ac discitur.

Sunt qui nunc arguunt: cur non utimur illis simplificationibus extremis linguae Latinae ad instar idiomatum vocatorum LATINO SINE FLEXIONE, NOVIAL, LATINESCE, NOV-LATIN, ROMANAL et aliorum hujus speciei? Non est dubitandum quin haec idiomata facile discenda et intelligenda sint. Sed semper sunt idiomata insuper addita, idiomata denuo discenda, idiomata arbitraria, dum lingua Latina jam exstat, literaturam ingentem habet, temporibus praeteritis qua idioma internationale usurpata est, nec normis arbitrariis, sed historia fixis subicitur. Nec potest adoptio linguae Latinae qua idiomatis internationalis incitare invidias nationales.

Argumentum principale contra usum linguae Latinae difficultates grammaticae exaggeratae hujus linguae sunt. Certe, sermone Ciceroniano, pleno elegantiarum et arcessitarum dictionum, in rebus commercii, scientiae, vitae militaris et politicae nondum uti possumus. Sed ubi est qui nos cogat ut tali sermone utamur? Nonne est sola arrogantia "latinistarum"? Nonne est sola superbia eorum qui unicum modum Latine recte loquendi et scribendi possidere praetendunt? Lingua Latina major sermone Ciceroniano est. Nisi renascentia saeculorum post-mediaevalium restituisset illud idioma jam mortuum, lingua Latina lingua viva remansisset, quamquam sub forma differente nec classica. Non possumus sperare eruditos scientiarum naturalium, machinatores, mercatores, mathematicos, milites, nautas, meteorologos, nuntios politicos et alios idioma difficillimum "classicum" (et mortuum et temporibus Ciceronis quidem artificiosum) usurpaturos esse.

Tragice sententia poetae Oscar Wilde consummata est quod semper necamus id quod maxime amamus. Qui gloriam antiquae reginae linguarum restituere voluerunt, ejus extinctionem adjuverunt. Ad restituendam linguam Latinam qua idioma internationale a duobus extremis nos retinere convenit: 1) ab artificiis et Ciceronis et latinitatis argenteae et aetatis renascentiae, quibus abundat e.g. libellus recens LATINITAS Romae editus; 2) a simplificatione extrema idiomatum artificiosorum quae certe ducet ad "new-speak" Orvellianum. Debemus accipere neo-logismos, debemus omittere elegantias superfluas et obscuras, debemus regredi ad sermonem antiquum, simplicem, utilem. Sacrificium superbiae intellectualis, sacrificium vanitatis eruditae nobis dabit fructum linguae vere utilis, communis, humanae.

Lingua vere internationalis facilius esse debet quam ulla lingua indigena. Sententiam quam modo scripsimus etiam eo modo scribere possumus: Qui orbis reapse gentibus usui sit sermonem quibuscumque sermonibus gentibus singulis peculiaribus haud difficiliorem esse oportet. Nimirum nemo his temporibus tale idioma "pretiosum" et archaicum loquitur. Quo egeamus idioma est idiomati BASIC ENGLISH simile. Haud intelligo cur non docere possumus ad finem communicationis facilis et internationalis (et solum et unice ad hanc finem) sermonem Latinum simplicem et capacem futurae evolutionis.

Ad hanc finem propono:

- 1) augeamus usum vocum linguis Europaeis communium quae a lingua Latina derivatae sunt et quae jam collectae sunt in variis lexicis, specialiter in vocabulario vocato VOCABULARIO COMMUNE AD LINGVAS DE EUROPA (Torino, 1909), e.g. camminare, caballus, manducare;
- 2) permittamus usum vocum quae intelligi possint quamquam non exstant in sermone classico, e.g. vocum a participio perfecti passivi derivatarum (concessio, digestare), specialiter

quando caremus quibusdam formis verborum deponentium (usare aut usare loco utendi);

3) permittamus usum vocum mediaevalium, et, si necesse, faciamus novas quae intelligi possunt eodem modo quo scholastici formaverunt voces necessarias ad fines suas (ens, pensatum, bassus, evangelizare, civilisatio, internationalis);

4) adoptemus jam usatas potius quam introducamus novas "correctiores," e.g. automobile loco autocinetici vel autoraedae;

5) relinquamus elegantias grammaticas non necessarias tales quales e.g. ablativum absolutum, supinum, formas archaicas et raras; sufficit ut sit sermo noster simplex et intelligibilis; quod intelligi potest, bene et correcte dictum est in quovis idiomate internationali (vide Bibliam Sacram in versione Sancti Hieronymi, non invenies ne unam quidem paginam quae non sit repleta lapsibus et vitiis horridis);

6) utamur facultate linguae Latinae novas voces logice formandi, e.g. intelligibilitas, determinismus, innecessarius etc.;

7) introducamus iterum signa diacritica (hic et híc, forte et forté, venit et vénit, cecidit et cécidit, residere et resídere, poeta et poëta, quoque et quò, anima et ánimâ etc.; haec signa valde adjuvant intelligentiam;

8) permittamus iterum usum pronuntiationis "ecclesiasticae," quia quicumque mercator vel homo politicus vel dux militaris facilius comprehendit sententiam pronuntiatam "ssiensja juris ssivilis sserta et pressisa esse debet" quam istam "skientia iuris kivilis kerta et praikisa esse debet";

9) adoptemus si eo modo adjuvamus comprehensionem faciliorem syntaxin modernam et ordinem vocum quo utamur in quasi omnibus linguis Europaeis;

10) si convenit, permittamus usum vocis "quod" cum vel sine modo subjun-

tivo post verba declarandi ac sentiendi et utamur parce isto modo subjunctivo.

Ista nostra novissima (nec tam nova) latinitas non erit tam bella neque tam elegans quam illa latinitas auctorum classicorum, sed nos adjuvabit creare idioma vere utile. Si loquimur Anglice, certe non utimur sermone poetarum Shakespeare aut Keats aut Chaucer in negotiis, in libris technicis, in sermone cotidiano. Cur ergo debeamus uti sermone Ciceroniano in correspondentia commercialis Latina vel in literatura scientifica, politica, technica? Sermo vulgaris ab eruditis adoptatus erat, ut vulgus possit comprehendere inventiones et cogitationes scientificas et religiosas, quamquam specialiter ad fines scientificas idioma supranationale necessarium est. Nunc necessitamus idioma quo eruditi et omnes homines bonae voluntatis iterum uti possunt, ut pax servetur, scientia augeatur et una lingua denuo fiat quod tot linguae non fieri potuerunt: videlicet modus universalis communicationis humanae et instrumentum pacis.

Illo facto quod idiomata artificiosa e.g. Volapük, Esperanto, Ido et alia inveniri et crescere potuerunt nos qui amamus linguam Latinam condemnatur. Erat nostra superbia, nostra arrogantia, noster purismus stultus, quae haec arte facta idiomata fieri et florere permiserunt. Sit nostrum officium iterum defendere, colere atque evolvere linguam aeternam civilisationis imperiturae!

JOHANNES A. GAERTNER

Lafayette College

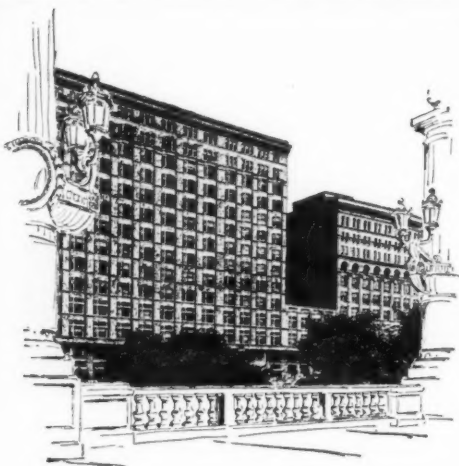
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Yet one thing more awaits your failing age;
That in suburban schools your well-thumbed
page

Will be employed by pedagogues to teach
Young boys with painful pangs the parts of
speech.

(Hor., *Epist.* 1.20.17f, tr. Martin)

. . . cum totus decolor esset
Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni.
(Juv. 7.226f)



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BOOK REVIEWS

Rogeri Baconis *Moralis Philosophia*, post Ferdinand Delorme O. F. M. critice instruxit et edidit Eugenio Massa. Turici, in aedibus Thesauri Mundi. (1953). Pp. XLIII. 294. (Distributed in the United States by the Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.)

THE LAST EDITION of this part of the *Opus Majus* had been produced by J. H. Bridges (London, 1900, 3 vols.); his edition, however, did not contain the last portion of the fourth and the sketchy fifth and sixth parts of the *Moralis Philosophia* which Pelzer discovered in 1919 in the codex Vaticanus latinus 4295. Delorme started editing the newly discovered portions, but died in 1952. Professor Eugenio Massa then took over and presented us with this beautiful edition of the entire work.

The Vatican copy (V) is the one that Bacon himself dedicated to Pope Clement IV and sent to him with his own annotations and corrections. That these really are Bacon's own corrections and emendations Professor Massa proves beyond doubt from references to them in other works of Bacon. Massa's edition is largely based upon V, though he has, of course, most carefully collated his text with the two other oldest extant codices, the Royal 8-F-II in the British Museum (M) and the Oxoniensis Bodleian Digby 235 (O).

Bacon's *Moralis Philosophia* consists largely of quotations from Seneca, whom Bacon worshiped and of whom he wanted to cite as much as possible, not only because of the intrinsic value of such procedure, but also because he felt that Senecan texts were still rare (p. XXV) and such quotations therefore doubly valuable to the reader. Aside from the host of editorial problems which confronted Massa in his construction of the family of texts which led to V, M, and O, the Seneca quotations presented their own problems. Bacon used faulty Seneca mss., which he or his scribes further garbled. Where the errors are obviously Bacon's, Massa amended them, others he left, because Bacon may have found them in his texts; but in all cases he marked carefully all divergences from the accepted versions. It goes without saying that Massa collated only Senecan texts prior to Bacon's ms. Nevertheless Bacon's V still contains numerous recensions of quotations from Seneca which are of interest to students of Senecan textual criticism.

In a brilliant analysis of orthographic idiosyncrasies Massa proves the existence of three different scribes of V, an analysis which in itself is a perfect introduction to late Latin diplomatics.

The spelling in V is inconsistent and frequently very bad, but Massa accepted it on the whole; partly because, though Bacon knew how to spell more correctly, he may have used the casual spelling of his time and place, partly because Bacon after all saw and presumably approved V from which Massa took his text.

The critical apparatus consists (a) of a comparison and collation with M and O, (b) of a quotation of Bacon's annotations and corrections in V, and (c) of a careful collation and check on Bacon's innumerable quotations from Seneca, the Bible, the Church Fathers and other ancient and mediaeval writers. Wherever possible the editor had recourse to mediaeval mss. prior to V.

Bacon speaks in the up to now unedited parts of the fourth book about the uses of the Sacrament of Holy Communion. He considers accidia as the greatest sin which keeps man from Holy Communion (p. 238) and concludes this book with a rapturous enumeration of the manifold blessings that flow from the right use of the Sacrament (pp. 240-243). The fifth book deals with ethical practice. Man can be brought to good action by persuasion (p. 250). The poets play an important role in moral persuasion (p. 253). Bacon knows of an Aristotelian text on the subject of moral persuasion, but regrets that no Latin translation of it exists (pp. 251, 253 seq., 263). In the absence of that text there is much deliberation as to the proper style of moral persuasion; and Augustine, Jerome, Cicero, Seneca, and others are recommended, mainly in their letters (p. 263). On the whole, such persuasion ought to proceed in the *stilus grandis* (p. 258), but not all the time. The greatest artist of moral persuasion is St. Augustine (p. 258 seq.), from whose *De doctrina christiana* Bacon copiously quotes.

The sixth book consists of exactly one page (p. 267). This part was to deal with forensic rhetoric; but Bacon excuses himself from any elaboration of it, as it would lengthen his already large work and be without interest to a Pope who had mastered it so thoroughly.

Massa has appended two magnificent indices, an *index rerum* and an *index nominum*, written, of course, like his entire apparatus and introduction in Latin. The reviewer shares Professor Oliver's enthusiasm concerning the high quality and superb presentation of the texts in the *Thesaurus Mundi* series (cf. *Classical Journal*, May, 1954, pp. 375-377). Massa's edition of Bacon's *Moralis Philosophia* is a brilliant achievement of careful editing, painstaking (and intelligent!) scholarship and—last but not least—magnificent printing.

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Wedek on Seneca

(from page 320)

inter homines pro summo esse optimum. Animo itaque rector eligebatur, ideoque summa felicitas erat gentium, in quibus non poterat potentior esse nisi melior. 90.4

⁸ At the imperial ludi, during the venationes, large numbers of wild animals were killed publicly for the amusement of the crowd. Lions and leopards were imported for this purpose from the Nile region, and bears from Central Europe. There was, throughout the Empire, a constant demand for savage beasts—*bestiae dentatae*. At the opening of the Colosseum in Nero's time, some 9,000 animals were killed, while 11,000 met their death when Trajan celebrated his Dacian triumph. And of course the death of so many beasts meant the death of a correspondingly large number of men. See *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome*. George Jennison. Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1937, 62.

⁹ mera homicida sunt. 7.3

¹⁰ The emotions must be governed, if we are to achieve virtue: Quid prodest multos vincere luctatione vel caestu, ab iracundia vinciri? 88.19

¹¹ Men and animals were pitted against each other without arousing any sense of human concern. Among the *bestiarii*, the animal fighters, were criminals, prisoners of war, as well as professional gladiators. Cf. Jennison, op. cit., 194.

¹² Homo, sacra res homini, iam per lulum ac iocum occiditur. 95.33

There is in man a primitive lust to kill: tantum aberat ut homo hominem non iratus, non timens, tantum spectaturus occiderat. 90.45 Again, Seneca laments the rarity of humanity: in homine rarum humanitas bonum. 115.3

¹³ On the other hand, when elephants were being slaughtered in large numbers in the Circus, the spectators howled and cursed Pompey, who had presented the spectacle, for his savage cruelty: ut oblitus (sc. populus) imperatoris ac munificentiae honori exquisitae fletus universos consurgeret dirasque Pompeio quas ille mox luit imprecaretur. Pliny N.H. 8.7 (7.22) In this connection, Cicero has a significant observation to make, that the lot of these animals is akin to that of man: esse quamdam illi beluae cum genere humano societatem. *Ad Fam.* 7.1.3

¹⁴ The treatment of criminals, and the means of their extermination, were unmercifully savage. Strabo (6.2.6) tells of Selurus, a Sicilian brigand executed in the Forum in Rome. The victim was dropped through the floor of a stage into a cage of wild beasts. Petronius describes how tigers were carried in gilded palaces, to drink human blood to the accompaniment of popular applause: tigris et aurata gradiens vectatur in aula, ut bibat humanum populo plaudente cruorem. *Satyricon* 119.17-18.

¹⁵ Cogita . . . saevitiae est. 14.5

¹⁶ For extended Greek and Roman references to slavery, see Mayor's note on Juvenal 14.16-24. Significant references in the Letters to various aspects of slavery: torture, fugitivi, sale of slaves, slaves as enemies of masters, occur as follows: 4.8; 18.8.15; 24.14; 27.6-8; 31.11; 44.4; 70.20, 21, 25, 26; 77.6-8; 77.14; 80.4; 80.9; 107.5.

^{16a} But see, e.g., Plato: *Symp.* 175B; *Rep.* 549A; *Laws* 762E, 776D, 777D. [Ed.]

¹⁷ Cf. vox domini furit instantis virgamaque tenentis Juvenal 14.63. Also Mayor on Juvenal 10.60; 10.183; 14.24.

¹⁸ animas servorum et corpora nostra materia constare putat paribusque elementis. Juvenal 14.16-17.

¹⁹ Under Claudius sick slaves, abandoned by their masters, must be manumitted. Suetonius, *Claudius* 27 In Nero's reign, too, an injustice by a master toward a slave had to be investigated by the praefectus urbi. Digest 1.12.1

²⁰ Natura nos cognatos edidit. 95.52

Motto on Seneca

(from page 318)

⁵² *De Ira* 3.10.4: Non omnes ab eadem parte feriuntur; scire itaque oportet, quid in te imbecillum sit, ut id maxime protegas.

⁵³ *De Clem.* 2.4.1: Crudelitas, quae nihil aliud est quam atrocitas animi in exigendis poenis.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.25.2: tunc illi dirus animi morbus ad insaniam pervenit ultimam, cum crudelitas versa est in voluptatem et iam occidere hominem iuvat.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.3: verecundiam peccandi facit ipsa clementia regentis; gravius multo poena videtur, quae a mito viro constituitur. For complete references to punishment see (I.I.d.)

⁵⁶ *De Benef.* 7.31.1: vincit malos pertinax bonitas.

⁵⁷ *De Clem.* 1.6.3: peccavimus omnes. (G.9.b.2. n.2.)

⁵⁸ *De Ira* 2.28.8: aliena vita in oculis habemus, a tergo nostra sunt. (G.9.b.i.j.)

⁵⁹ On the universality of vice and evil see (G.9.b.i.g. and G.9.a.i.)

⁶⁰ *De Benef.* 7.28.1-2. On the universality of ingratitude see (G.9.b.2.r.1.)

⁶¹ *De Benef.* 7.28.3: ut absolveris, ignosce. For complete references to forgiveness of injury, see (G.9.b.2.u.1.)

⁶² *De Benef.* 7.31.2. (D.I.32p.)

⁶³ *De Benef.* 7.32.

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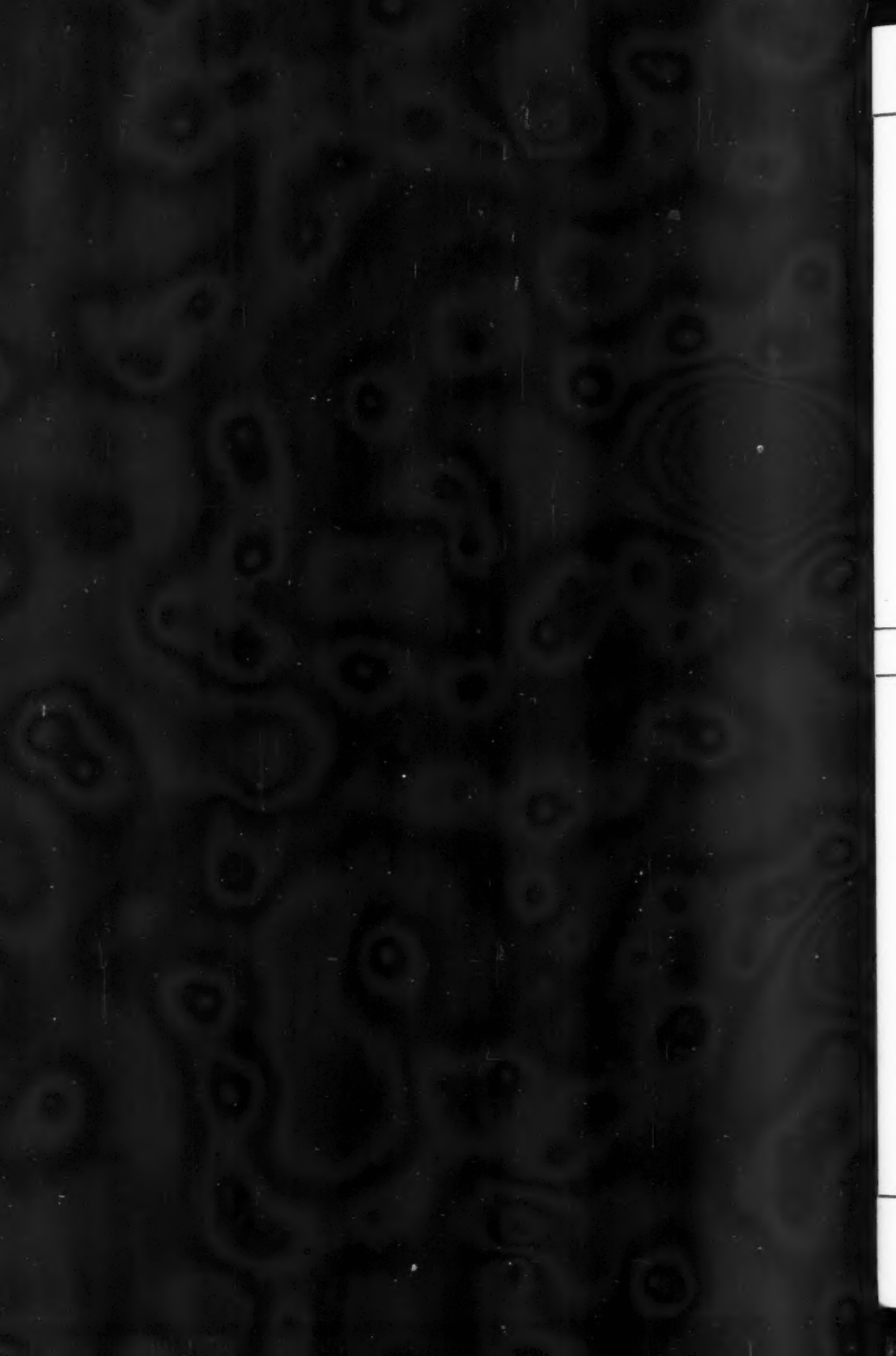
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